



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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25 October 1990

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Reportage From Banjul ECOWAS Summit

Mali To Host Summit

AB2410105890 Dakar PANA in English
1006 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Dakar 24 Oct. (PANA)—A special ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] summit on Liberia is scheduled to take place in Bamako, the Malian capital, on 31 October, Radio Gambia reported Wednesday [24 Oct]. Quoting sources at the on-going Banjul meeting of foreign ministers of the ECOWAS standing mediation committee and Liberian warring factions, the radio provided no details on the envisaged summit.

But observers point to the fact that Mali, which together with Nigeria, Togo, Ghana and The Gambia, is a member of the ECOWAS standing mediation committee, is also one of two committee members which did not contribute troops to the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia. The other is Togo.

Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, which controls most of the Liberian countryside, had said he would not attend a meeting in any of the countries which have contributed troops to ECOMOG.

On Tuesday, President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso visited Bamako to confer with Malian head of state Moussa Traore on the situation in Liberia. Togo President Gnassingbe Eyadema had on Monday visited Burkina Faso, which supports Taylor, and was in Nigeria last week, on a similar mission.

Meanwhile, the radio, monitored in Dakar, said the mediation committee meeting, which has been in session since Monday, continues Wednesday. It said the meeting had not yet achieved its main objective, which is to have a workable ceasefire in the Liberian conflict.

The other objectives of the meeting are to work out modalities for the installation of the interim government in Liberia and prepare the ground for the next ECOWAS summit.

In a related development, the radio reported that Liberia's National Interim Defence Council, which is made up of remnants of the Armed Forces of Liberia loyal to late President Samuel Doe, on Tuesday issued, in Banjul, an appeal for greater cooperation among ECOWAS member states to bring an end to the killings in Liberia.

In the statement, the council expressed its support for the interim government set up under ECOWAS auspices. It also appealed to ECOMOG to help restore electricity and water supplies to Monrovia, facilitate the free movement of people in the country and confine all troops to barracks.

Cease-Fire Said Accepted

AB2410143290 Paris AFP in English 0055 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Banjul, Oct 24 (AFP)—Liberia's main rebel group has agreed to a proposal for a ceasefire in the West African country's ten-month civil war, the Gambian foreign minister said on Tuesday [23 Oct].

But the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, has put some conditions which it was hoped could be satisfied Wednesday, said Gambian Foreign Minister Omar Sey, chairman of a standing committee on Liberia meeting here since Monday. A dissident rebel group, led by Prince Johnson, and troops loyal to slain President Samuel Doe have already agreed to a ceasefire.

The standing committee, set up by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on Monday put ceasefire proposals to each armed group in turn, in the presence of members of an ECOWAS-backed interim government, made up mainly of Liberian exiles.

Mr. Sey said the NPFL, which has previously refused all ceasefire proposals, had been "very cooperative." He said he hoped that a ceasefire agreement might be signed on Wednesday. The Gambian minister said conditions put by the NPFL had to do with the composition of a peacekeeping force sent to Liberia by ECOWAS and on the existence of two interim governments, one set up by ECOWAS and the other by Mr. Taylor himself. He did not elaborate.

Mr. Taylor, who in July proclaimed himself president of Liberia, on Sunday set up an interim national assembly at his stronghold in Gbarnga, north of the capital Monrovia, and said he would hold general elections within 12 months.

The NPFL delegation here, led by its "foreign minister" Ernest Eastman, apparently agreed to the ceasefire proposal after talks here with the other two armed groups. They told the permanent committee that they accepted the proposal but would propose some amendments to the text of the accord.

Togo's Justice Minister Bitikotipou Yagninim said that among the amendments sought was an extension of the peacekeeping force to include other West African states or the Organisation of African Unity. The 6,000-strong force, currently made up of troops from Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia, Guinea and Sierra Leone, drove Mr. Taylor's men out of Monrovia in three weeks of heavy fighting. The Togolese minister said the amendments had been noted and would be put to the other two sides for approval. Reliable sources said that if they were accepted, a ceasefire agreement could be signed Wednesday morning.

Mr. Yagninim said that the standing committee had already accepted the NPFL proposal for an extension of

the peacekeeping force and had asked Charles Taylor's representatives to provide a list of countries they wanted to serve.

Group Refuses To Sign Accord

AB2410195990 Paris AFP in English 1947 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Banjul, Oct 24 (AFP)—Two of Liberia's three rival factions Wednesday [24 Oct] signed a proposal for a ceasefire in the West African country's ten-month civil war, Gambian Foreign Minister Omar Sey said here.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Charles Taylor, refused to sign the accord because several points in a blueprint submitted by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) needed clarification, NPFL chief delegate Ernest Eastman said. Mr. Eastman cited the planned deployment of ECOWAS peacekeeping troops in areas occupied by NPFL rebels where all fighting has stopped.

The agreement was signed here by Peter Naigow for Prince Johnson's Independent Patriotic National Front [as received] (INPFL) and by General Ezekiah Bowen for the National Interim Defence Council (NIDC) which groups troops loyal to slain President Samuel Doe. Gen. Bowen said NIDC rebels would be pressed to respect peace in Liberia. Mr. Naigow said the INPFL would continue to seek an agreement by the NPFL to join the ceasefire accord.

The ECOWAS standing committee on Monday put ceasefire proposals to each armed group in turn, in the presence of members of an ECOWAS-backed interim government, made up mainly of Liberian exiles. Mr. Naigow urged the ECOWAS mediation committee to send the interim government to Monrovia as quickly as possible.

The Gambian minister said earlier that conditions put by the NPFL had to do with the composition of a peacekeeping force sent to Liberia by ECOWAS and the existence of two interim governments, one set up under ECOWAS auspices and the other by Mr. Taylor himself.

Prince Johnson and the former president signed a ceasefire brokered by the ECOWAS peacekeeping force on September 3 but the rebel leader's troops violated the agreement in a clash at the headquarters of the peacekeeping force in which Mr. Doe was mortally wounded.

Dogonyaro Reports

AB2410175890 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] The meeting of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Mediation Committee entered its second day today in Banjul, The Gambia. Yesterday, the members of the committee presented a

memorandum on steps taken so far by the community to restore peace in Liberia. Mounguengui Moussounda has more details:

[Moussounda] There is an atmosphere of optimism within the ECOWAS mediation committee, which has submitted a draft cease-fire agreement to the three warring factions: namely, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia; Prince Johnson's dissident National Patriotic Front; and the remnants of the late Liberian President Samuel Doe's forces. At this point in time, no party has yet replied to the proposals. The mediation committee has promised to do everything possible to restore peace in Liberia.

Meanwhile, the foreign ministers of the member states of the ECOWAS mediation committee were briefed by the field commander of the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group, Nigerian General Joshua Dogonyaro. He stressed the need to redefine ECOMOG's mission in Liberia. In another development, supporters of the late Liberian president did not fail to criticize the ECOMOG commander, charging that ECOMOG has proven unable to put an end to the conflict which has already claimed thousands of lives in less than one year.

Minister Issues Warning

AB2410185690 Dakar PANA in French
1721 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Dakar, 23 Oct (PANA)—Gambian Foreign Minister Omar Sey yesterday appealed for the payment of contributions to the fund set up by the standing mediation committee of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] to finance its operations in Liberia. In his capacity as chairman of the ECOWAS ministerial council, Mr. Sey, who was opening the meeting of the standing committee, stated that although many appeals have been made to the international community for assistance, the financial situation is hardly encouraging because a response has not been forthcoming. We may end up with an extremely catastrophic situation if contributions are not paid promptly, he said.

According to a report on Gambian Radio yesterday, Mr. Sey also briefed the delegates from Nigeria, Ghana, and Mali—all three are members of the standing committee—as well as Guinea and Sierra Leone—neighbors of Liberia—on the progress achieved by the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). He explained that the interim government has not yet been installed in Liberia because of the persistent opposition of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

The Liberian warring factions and the interim government were represented at the meeting. The Togolese delegation, which was not present at the opening session, was expected in Banjul late yesterday afternoon, according to Gambian Radio. The meeting will attempt to agree on a cease-fire formula for Liberia. It will also

prepare for ECOWAS' upcoming summit and for the inauguration of the interim government in Liberia, the radio added.

Meeting Ends

AB2510103890 Dakar PANA in English
0849 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Dakar 25 Oct (PANA)—Foreign ministers from the member states of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] standing meeting committee [as received] ended their meeting with Liberia's warring factions in Banjul Wednesday with only two of the three factions signing a cease-fire agreement and without any official confirmation that the envisaged ECOWAS summit in Bamako would take place, Radio Gambia reported Thursday. Previous reports had indicated that a special ECOWAS summit on the Liberian problem would be held in Bamako on 31, October.

According to the radio report, the representative of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), Tom Woewiyu, refused to sign the agreement because he said the security of NPFL forces could not be guaranteed with the present composition of the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia.

The ECOMOG forces comprise troops from Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea and The Gambia. Woewiyu said his group would not agree to lay down arms without certain conditions being met first. These included the addition of troops from other ECOWAS member states to the ECOMOG force.

The other two groups, Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia and the remnants of Liberia's Armed Forces loyal to the late President Samuel Doe (the National Interim Defence Council), (?made a formal) statement of support for the cease-fire and for the ECOWAS initiative in Liberia after the signing.

The chairman of the meeting, Gambian Foreign Minister Omar Sey, speaking at the occasion, expressed the wish that in the not too distant future, the cease-fire, which was negotiated and agreed upon by the warring factions, would be signed by the NPFL.

The five member countries of the standing committee at the meeting were Nigeria, Togo, Ghana, Mali and The Gambia. The meeting was also attended by Sierra Leone and Guinea, two of Liberia's neighbours which have large numbers of its citizens as refugees and which have contributed troops to ECOMOG. Others at the meeting were the ECOWAS executive secretary, Abass Bundu and the representatives of the OAU and the United Nations secretary-general.

Communique on CEPGL Summit on Rwanda EA2510104090 Kigali Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The first attempt to hold a regional summit on the events which have shaken our country since 1 October 1990 was due to be held today, Wednesday, 24 October 1990, in Gbadolite, Zaire. The timetable of some guests—principally Ugandan President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, who was receiving Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi in Kampala—did not allow the regional meeting to be held.

On the other hand, the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes [CEPGL] summit was held yesterday and today in Gbadolite in the framework of regular consultations within the community. The talks chaired by Major Pierre Buyoya, president of Burundi and current chairman of the CEPGL, were of course dominated by the situation prevailing in Rwanda following the aggression it has been experiencing since 1 October 1990. During their talks, the CEPGL heads of state received an emissary from President Museveni detained in Kampala. A press communique concluded the summit and was presented by the Rwandan minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, Dr. Casimir Bizimungu. Let us listen to it:

[Begin Bizimungu recording] At the invitation of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu wa Za Banga, president of the Republic of Zaire, in his capacity as dean of heads of state of the CEPGL member countries, Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Pierre Buyoya of Burundi held a meeting with him in Gbadolite on 23-24 October 1990 in the framework of the community's regular consultations.

The meeting, chaired by His Excellency Pierre Buyoya, current CEPGL chairman, was to be held before another one, enlarged to include Kenyan, Tanzanian, and Ugandan heads of state, who owing to last minute necessities could not take part. However, President Museveni sent his first deputy prime minister, Mr. Eriya Kategaya.

The three heads of state examined the situation in Rwanda following the aggression to which this country has been subjected since 1 October 1990. They then expressed concern for the rapid return of peace to Rwanda. To that effect, they launched an urgent appeal to the belligerent parties for an immediate and integral cease-fire. The three heads of state furthermore expressed the wish that an interposition force be set up with a view to making them observe the strict and integral implementation of the cease-fire.

They expressed satisfaction over the various initiatives carried out by friendly countries in order to bring peace and tranquillity to Rwanda. The current CEPGL chairman was given a special mandate by his peers to coordinate all these initiatives.

President Mobutu informed his peers about the initiatives which he intends to take with all the parties concerned in order to facilitate the dialogue likely to favor a return to peace. His counterparts encouraged him in this initiative. The three heads of state will meet again within a very few days with the other heads of state of Rwanda's neighboring countries.

The Presidents of the Republic of Burundi and the Republic of Rwanda expressed profound gratitude to the President of the Republic of Zaire and to the Zairian people for the authentically African hospitality reserved to them as well to their respective delegations.

Issued in Gbadolite, 24 October 1990. [end recording]
[passage omitted]

PTA Secretary General on Monetary Union

*AB2410220990 Dakar PANA in English
1743 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] Nairobi, 23 Oct. (KNA/PANA)—The preferential Trade Area (PTA) for eastern and southern Africa secretary general, Bax Nomvete, has said the regional body hoped to finalise the formation of a full monetary union

with a common central bank and one common currency between 1995 and the year 2000.

He was speaking at the first meeting, which opened in Nairobi Monday [22 Oct], of experts from central banks and senior economists from finance ministries of the expeditious implementation of PTA priority projects.

Between now and 1994, Nomvete said, PTA member states should commence the liberalisation of their exchange rates through the appropriate methods. He said the methods which have been successful in other regions in Africa include bureaux de change which are officially permitted to deal in currencies at market clearing rates and foreign exchange auctions.

Such efforts, he added, will enable the member states to develop a culture of liberalisation in the transition period to a monetary union. Monetary harmonisation is necessary infrastructure if the economic integration process we have embarked upon is to be achieved, Nomvete said.

The meeting is being attended by delegates from eastern and southern African states and aims at deliberating on the strategies, mechanisms and the logistics that could help remove the organisation's monetary disharmony.

Chad

Team Leaves for Commission Meeting in Libya

AB2410154790 Ndjamenia Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 22 Oct 90

[Text] Tripoli, the Libyan capital, is the venue for the seventh Chad-Libya Joint Commission meeting. The Chadian Government delegation led by External Relations Minister Acheikh ibn-Oumar, left Ndjamenia on Saturday, 20 October for the Libyan capital. Besides the Chadian foreign minister, the delegation comprises, among others, Adoum Moussa Seif, minister of information and culture; (Ndeni Koure), adviser at the presidency in charge of defense and security; Major Barma, advisor at the presidency for international relations; Michel Froud, director general at the Ministry of External Relations; Senoussi Kosso, special duties officer at the presidency; Mahamat Allam-mi, Chad's ambassador to France; and Brahim Mahamat Tidei, Chad's ambassador to Libya, who will join the government delegation in Tripoli.

The seventh session of the Chad-Libyan commission is taking place several months after both countries referred their border dispute to the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Apart from referring their case to the International Court of Justice, Presidents [as heard] Hissein Habre and al-Qadhdhafi, following their recent meeting in Morocco, have expressed their desire to pursue bilateral contacts in order to find a political solution to their dispute. The seventh joint session, which opens in Tripoli, is the fulfillment of the desire expressed by the two leaders.

* Oumar Explains Failed Talks With Libya

90AF0736A Ndjamenia AL-WATAN in French
18-24 Aug 90 pp 3-4

[Interview with Acheikh ibn-Oumar, minister of external affairs, by Abdelkerim Adoum; date and place not given; first paragraph is AL-WATAN introduction]

[Text] Labeled as the "last chance," the sixth and final session of the joint commission began two days late on 13 August 1990. The bilateral negotiations, which have alternated between Libya and Chad since the signing of the Algiers framework accord a year ago, have taken place amidst a climate of extreme tension between the two countries, tension due to the sound of jackboots made once again by Libya in the Sudanese Darfour in its obsessive and anachronistic dream of dominating Chad. It goes without saying that under such conditions, the discussions were doomed to failure, at least those falling within the framework of the bilateral negotiations authorized by the Algiers accord. After this bitter observation, there is nothing left to be done by the two opposing sides, as Acheikh Ibn Oumar, minister of external affairs and head of the Chadian delegation, explained to us.

[Adoun] Mr. Minister, the work of the sixth session of the Chadian-Libyan joint commission has ended, but nothing leaked out during the discussions. What was finally achieved by your work?

[Ibn Oumar] Unfortunately, after the closure of the sixth session of the Chadian-Libyan joint commission responsible for implementing the Algiers framework agreement, we observed once more—I would even say once too often—that Libya is not willing to seek a peaceful solution with us. The meeting therefore ended in failure. This observation must be corrected, however, because the failure does not mean failure of the peace process, nor does it mean failure of the Algiers framework accord. That agreement remains valid and the joint commission still exists. What has failed so far is the attempt to find a friendly solution with Libya.

As provided by the agreement, after this one-year period and after the failure of the attempt at a bilateral settlement, we shall move on to the second jurisdictional phase, consisting of taking the problem of the occupation of Aouzou to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, which is also a way of settling the conflict peacefully. To do so, we have already submitted for the second time a draft proposal to the International Court of Justice for the Libyan side. It is what is called the livery of seizin agreement, which we submitted to them forthwith. We hope that by 1 September, both sides will abide by their commitment to appeal to the International Court of Justice and the accompanying measures, which are the demilitarization of the zone in dispute and the sending of African observers.

[Adoun] Mr. Minister, Libya has always established the release of Libyan prisoners as a precondition for any negotiation, which is only a detail compared with the fundamental question: settlement of the territorial dispute. Would you tell us what blocked the negotiations in Ndjamenia?

[Ibn Oumar] That is true. Whether it be stated as a precondition or indirectly as a leitmotiv to all our discussions, Libya demands the unconditional release of all its prisoners. There can be no doubt that this matter was taken into consideration by Chad, which signed the agreement. Even on the humanitarian level, a prisoner of war is a prisoner of war and we are not happy over prolonging the detention of those prisoners. But the problem as posed by Libya goes far beyond the legal framework about which we are speaking. We can settle no problem, whether concerning our borders, attacks, the prisoners, or war damages, on the basis of the demands of one side or the other.

When one is involved in discussions, the only thing to be taken into account is the legal basis for such debate, and the agreement is very clear on this matter. If there is to be any release of prisoners, it cannot be considered as a preliminary measure, but simply as an arrangement within the framework of application of the agreement. In contrast, the appeal to the International Court of Justice

does have a deadline. The agreement clearly states that at the end of one year, if the dispute has not been settled by peaceful means, we are required to appeal to the international jurisdiction. The problem of withdrawing forces from the zone in dispute is also limited in time. The agreement states in effect that before the expiration of the one-year period, within the framework of the appeal to the International Court of Justice, we must proceed immediately to evacuate any military force from the Aouzou Strip. That is a diplomatic formula, but everyone knows it is Libya that is occupying the Aouzou Strip militarily. If by 1 September either of the sides does not apply these resolutions, then it is automatically in violation of its own pledge and the Algiers framework accord.

On the precise question of the prisoners, since that point has no deadline, it can be dealt with at the same time as the other issues.

[Adoun] Concerning the appeal to the International Court of Justice, both sides would have to agree to do so. As far as Chad is concerned, things are clear, but has Libya accepted the principle of appealing to the International Court?

[Ibn Oumar] Verbally, Libya has always accepted many things, whether in the OAU or within the framework of the approaches of friendly countries. But in practice, the Libyans do everything possible to block negotiations. For example, at the next-to-last session, in order not to be caught off guard, we asked the Libyans to join with us in signing the agreement to make the appeal, which we would "she've" until we reached the end of our discussions. If, after a year, we did not come to an agreement by 1 September, we would immediately institute the procedure. Unfortunately, they have always ignored all that!

Even before the conclusion of the sixth session, we made a new proposal to sign the text, but they made no comment. The ceasefire signed in 1987 is violated daily by Libyan fighters in BET [Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti] and particularly by direct aggression through Sudanese territory. At the last session, we immediately brought up these violations and especially the current preparations for war. They acted as if they understood nothing, even though at our previous meetings they were at least polite enough to respond by saying it was a problem between Chadians or between Sudan and Chad. Even more serious than this is the fact that the Algiers framework agreement has already been violated, for there is a clause in the agreement that states that both countries pledge to file said agreement with the OAU and the United Nations officially. That has been done with the OAU, but as far as the United Nations is concerned, we are still waiting for Libya to do so. All it needs is verbal notice. Therefore, the fact that Libya says such and such does not inspire us with great confidence. We will not be sure they are respecting their commitment unless we observe in the field, starting 1 September, that the Libyans are withdrawing from the Aouzou Strip and that they are

initiating the procedure to appeal to the International Court of Justice. Unfortunately, we have the feeling that Libya entertains the illusion that by destabilizing us militarily, they can get around all these problems, which is absolutely false.

[Adoun] It is therefore stated that the procedure for appealing to the International Court of Justice must be followed by mutual agreement. What will happen if the Libyans refuse once again to abide by it?

[Ibn Oumar] Obviously, when two countries are involved in a dispute, in order for the International Court of Justice to settle a problem and issue a ruling, both sides must agree to appeal to it. That obstacle does not exist here insofar as such agreement has already been expressed in the Algiers accord. We signed it and pledged to go before the Court. It has already been officially filed with the Court and all other international bodies. Consequently, whether Libya agrees or not, we and the United Nations have already appealed to the Court and this cannot prevent the procedure from following its normal course. The International Court of Justice has its procedures enabling a country, even unilaterally and without the agreement of the other, to bring up problems. Naturally, this is posed in different terms, but for us, the essential thing is that the Libyans return to reason. They have everything to gain from resuming good-neighbor relations with the Chadians, who harbor no animosity toward them. The treatment of prisoners of war, as attested to by foreign observers, results from this underlying sentiment. We in the Chadian Government therefore believe that international pressure will be sufficient to prevent Libya from ducking its commitments.

[Adoun] Mr. Minister, the Algiers accord was signed a year ago, but one has the impression that the joint commission met six times only to conclude that the territorial dispute with Libya cannot be settled peacefully. Did you deal with other points that gave you cause to be optimistic?

[Ibn Oumar] It is difficult to be optimistic when one knows how the other side acts, but as I have already stated, the failure of this session is not the failure of the Algiers accord or of a peaceful settlement. There are two phases in a peaceful settlement: a bilateral political settlement, which is but an arrangement between the two sides, and the jurisdictional phase, which is a ruling. We have exhausted the former. The second phase, which has a mandatory aspect, is also part of the peaceful settlement. Many things must therefore be worked out during this phase, for example, attorneys for both sides, the judges who will make up the bench and concerning whom each country may formulate its opinions. Likewise, we must submit documents describing our respective positions. However, the most important matter remains Libya's evacuation of the occupied zone. We shall not be surprised if, on the day after the fateful date, Libya tells us it has already evacuated Aouzou when such is not the case, for it has already accustomed us to its lies. That is why the agreement provides for the presence in

the field of observers to supervise the withdrawal of occupying forces. Where they are stationed will be determined during bilateral discussions and with the help of the ad hoc committee and friendly countries. Also to be settled are the outer limits of such zones on both sides of the border between the two countries in conflict.

[Adoun] Mr. Minister, Chad will therefore appeal to the International Court if the two countries cannot find a peaceful solution within the framework of the Algiers accord. Are there reasons to think our country will obtain satisfaction?

[Ibn Oumar] Our position is very clear. We cannot accept a principle and reject its consequences. We have accepted an agreement and will apply it fully. Within the framework of that agreement, we shall appeal to the International Court, but we cannot first ask the Court to hand down a ruling that will be favorable to us! We shall accept whatever the Court rules, however little it conforms to international law, the documents filed, and the different international rules and practices on the matter. We shall accept that judgment all the more seriously because our intention has never been to claim any piece of Libyan territory. On the contrary, what we are asking of Libya is to have the same attitude and to abide by that principle so we may build good-neighbor relations.

[Adoun] Has a date been set for a future meeting of the joint commission?

[Ibn Oumar] We have not agreed on any date. Theoretically, we are to meet every month, but in practice we have met every two months, therefore, six times in twelve months. For our part, we are willing to resume the discussions, whether in Tripoli or Ndjamen, if the climate so permits, even after the 31 August deadline. Obviously, in the meantime, Libya must first of all follow the rules of play by evacuating the occupied zone by the date set and also initiate its appeal before the International Court of Justice in The Hague. It is therefore still possible to have discussions unless Libya insists on the status quo or, even worse, if it launches a new attack. Naturally, we have no illusions about the Libyans' attitude, but we are convinced that sooner or later the problem will be settled because, as one of our proverbs says, "However high the bird flies in the heavens, when he dies, his bones fall back to earth." The Libyan position is an unnatural position in contradiction with political and historical realities, international law, and the very interests of both peoples.

A position so fraught with anomalies cannot long prevail. They will come back to reason. We would prefer that they do so in and of themselves rather than as the result of the pressure of events or international pressure, but our conviction is that sooner or later the problem will be solved.

[Adoun] Mr. Minister, now that it is time to draw up the balance sheet, would you tell us what the atmosphere was like during the work of the sixth session?

[Ibn Oumar] The Libyan attitude is highly versatile. They act that way in everything they do, not only in dealing with Chad, but even in their relations with other countries. Some sessions take place in a rather favorable atmosphere. At others, not only is the climate poor, but one cannot even enter the meeting room. For example, at the meeting in Tripoli in January, they even went back on what had already been passed at the previous meeting! The Libyan attitude is therefore a versatile, inconsistent attitude. And yet, despite that fact, on the whole and from the standpoint of atmosphere, the discussions were nevertheless conducted with a certain courtesy. We always try to smooth things over when they violate our tradition, according to which outsiders must be well-treated no matter what happens.

[Adoun] In such a context, how can one view diplomatic relations between Chad and Libya?

[Ibn Oumar] We must recognize that there are, after all, certain number of positive things, the main one being that we were able to sign an agreement, even if we have not yet succeeded in applying it and even though the Libyan attitude, since the creation of the ad hoc committee in 1977, has always been to refuse to sit down at the negotiating table with Chad. It took 11 years for it to agree to discussions in 1988. The fact that we succeeded in renewing those relations, albeit purely formal, is therefore a good thing.

As for the very subjective nature of those relations, international public opinion was perhaps unaware that the meeting of our two chiefs of state in Bamako last year was their first actual meeting ever! That is a very positive thing because even if one of the adversaries makes a mistake, through contact and discussion they can return to reason. These are therefore substantial strides forward in our relations with Libya despite the poor treatment our nationals receive in Libya daily.

[Adoun] By hardening their position, do the Libyans think they have won militarily? Is there a connection between their aggression and their attitude at the bargaining table?

[Ibn Oumar] Not only is there a connection between their aggression and the trend of the discussions, but the former is even planned based on the latter! I still recall their change in attitude between the two sessions in November and January, corresponding to the November 1989 attack. They still wanted to have Chad in a position of weakness when the time came for discussions. That was also the case at the March meeting of the ad hoc committee whose postponement Libya requested several times. When the meeting was finally held on 26 March, it was after the second attack had been launched. That is a tactic we know well. At the last session, if they said practically nothing, it was because of their preparations for what they were going to do in the Sudanese Darfour. They hope that every attack will create a favorable climate for their wishes, to wit, that a weakened Chad will therefore be likely to give in to their whims. The case

of Libya will indeed be a puzzle for historians of the future: a country that for 20 years, through direct aggression, manipulation, and intimidation, tried to impose a solution on Chad by force, and every time found itself in a more difficult position. And yet, it learns no lesson and does the same thing over and over, despite the successive failures it has suffered in its attempt to impose a solution on Chadians by force. The Libyans should learn its method is not a very good one!

Congo

Soldiers Fire on Demonstrators; 3 Wounded

AB2410180090 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Brazzaville, Oct 24 (AFP)—Three highschool students were wounded at Sibiti, 300 kilometres (180 miles) west of here, when soldiers and police broke up a demonstration calling for better study conditions and the opening of a boarding school, an informed source said Wednesday [24 Oct].

The protest was organized by students of the Samora Moises Machel high school where several youths have been on a hunger strike since Tuesday. Soldiers and police held up marching students and fired warning shots to disperse the crowd, but one soldier or militiaman opened fire on the demonstrators, wounding the three students, the source said. A young man of about 20 was believed to have been seriously hurt.

The students had sought to occupy a building where official political leaders were meeting, but were prevented. Eyewitnesses said students then pillaged the market and stores, which are mostly owned by foreigners.

Fourteen people were wounded, seven seriously, in similar incidents in Loubomo, Congo's third town, last week. The country has been in political ferment for several weeks. A general strike at the beginning of the month forced the government to concede major concessions for workers and to prepare moves to a multi-party system.

Equatorial Guinea

Mbasogo on Multipartyism, Human Rights, Issues

AB2410095490 Malabo Domestic Service in Spanish
0600 GMT 19 Oct 90

[Text] President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, head of state and founding chairman of the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea, yesterday granted an interview to Radio France International journalist [name indistinct], who was accompanied by the AFP representative in Malabo. The interview took place at the Government Palace in Malabo in the presence of Alejandro Evuna Owono, minister of state for special duties at the presidency; and Constantino Ochaga Nve, advisor at the presidency for educational affairs.

During the interview, the president answered the French journalist's questions on Equatorial Guinea's stand concerning French-speaking countries, our country's economic situation after joining the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa, UDEAC, which belongs to the franc zone. Others were on the adverse effects of the economic crisis in the Third World, the current system of government in the country, and human rights.

Concerning the issue of the French-speaking countries, the president stated that one of the government's objectives is to provide education for the entire people and to teach foreign languages as a means of promoting better understanding with our brothers from neighboring countries. This is why, he said, that the French language has been adopted as a working language in our country's administration, while a French curriculum is implemented in our schools.

Concerning our country's economic situation, the head of state stated that since he assumed power on 3 August 1979, after the fall of the dictatorial regime, his government has made much progress, especially, after our country joined the UDEAC and subsequently adopted a convertible currency, the CFA franc. This move, which helped put an end to the currency trafficking of the past, constitutes a guarantee for foreign investment. In addition, the president stressed that the national economic development program the country adopted has produced positive changes through assistance from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the EEC-ACP organization, and through bilateral cooperation.

The president also spoke of the situation in the Eastern European countries, which brought changes aimed at improving the social and economic conditions of their peoples. He hoped, however, that these changes would not affect the economic relations existing between Europe and our continent.

Answering questions on the introduction in the country of the multiparty system of government, the president said the democratization process has been taking place in Equatorial Guinea since he became the head of this state according to a program based on democratic principles. Preserving domestic peace and consolidating the economy, the president stated, are the essential aspects of this process which should not be rushed in order to avoid the mistakes made by other countries such as Liberia, where a fratricidal war is currently taking place. This is why, our country drew up its own democratization process according to its domestic sociopolitical realities and the people's aspirations, he added.

At the end of the interview, the president discussed the issue of respect for human rights in Equatorial Guinea recalling that the Equatorians enjoy the respect of their human rights and that there is a section on human rights protection in the country's constitution. This is why the government is surprised by the recent Amnesty International reports on human rights violations. That organization is quick to accuse our country of

human rights violations. As evidence of our government's constant concern with the respect of human rights the government has set up a human rights commission. This commission, which will work jointly with parliament, is charged with monitoring cases of human rights violation and reporting them to the government for appropriate punishment. The commission, the head of state added, will be in permanent contact with Amnesty International and other human rights organizations to make these organizations aware of the country's realities and to inform the outside world about them. The meeting ended with the discussion of the human rights issue.

Gabon

Final Results on 'First Round' Elections Released

AB2410220290 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The final results of the first round of the parliamentary elections were released yesterday by Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou, Gabonese minister of territorial administration. The Gabonese Democratic Party [PDG], formerly the sole ruling party, won eight seats. Three parties—the National Renewal Movement [MORENA]-Lumberjacks, the Gabonese Progress Party, and the Association for Socialism in Gabon [ASG]—won three seats each, while the MORENA-Original and the Gabonese Socialist Union [USG] won no seats.

In all, 72 members of parliament have thus been elected: 44 for the PDG and 28 for the opposition. The remaining 48 seats are to be contested in the next round to be held on 28 October.

It would be appropriate to mention here Minister Mboumbou-Miyakou's call for calm and discipline during the second round of balloting slated for next Sunday [28 October]. Let us listen to him:

[Begin Mboumbou-Miyakou recording] My hope is that discipline, calm, and serenity be observed as was the case during the first round on 21 October, and that the Gabonese constantly bear in mind the essence of the head of state's 16 October message marking the occasion. I wish to urge each contesting candidate to conduct a campaign devoid of hate and passion, and to demonstrate the highest sense of responsibility. [end recording]

Rwanda

Habyarimana Clarifies Position on Negotiations

EA2410153290 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The Rwandan Government does not envisage holding direct peace negotiations with the aggressors who attacked us on 1 October 1990 and notes that these aggressors are shooting at us. This was declared to the press yesterday by the president of the Republic, General

Juvénal Habyarimana. On the other hand, our head of state has agreed to initiate a dialogue with all political tendencies—internal and external—in the framework of the political openness which has now been in existence for about two years.

The explanation by President Habyarimana is thus very clear: No condition must be laid down to reach a cease-fire, he declared yesterday, before adding that the cease-fire must be followed by the departure of the aggressors' troops from Rwandan territory. Listen to President Habyarimana at the microphone of Bob Scott of the Voice of America yesterday:

[Begin Habyarimana recording] A certain clarification is needed all the same. The cease-fire was requested at the Mwanza [Tanzania] summit. And for this, there is no condition. The summit asked those who are in contact [as heard] to enter into a cease-fire; and it is the Mwanza summit which put this as a condition and as a request. Thus there is no, there is no condition for a cease-fire.

On negotiations, it is obvious that the Rwandan public would not allow the Rwandan Government to enter into direct contact with the rebels while they are shooting at us. It is obvious that, to begin with, this cease-fire is a must and, secondly, that these contacts be made in the framework of political openness to all political tendencies—internal and, as I recently added, external—which Rwanda has started. Those who believe that they represent a certain external political opinion—we are ready to open the debate to them and to widen these discussions to those who are abroad so that all tendencies which describe themselves and claim to be Rwandan can be involved.

But it is obvious that we cannot hold discussions with people who are shooting at us. At the very most, we can talk with those who sent them or with those who have a certain influence over them. We even want them to withdraw from our territory, as we have asked Presidents Mwinyi and Museveni to obtain this cease-fire. [passage omitted] [end recording]

320 Rebels Killed in 23 October Attack

EA2410214490 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Fighting continues in the northeastern part of the country, to the advantage of our Armed Forces. During an attack conducted yesterday by our troops along the whole front, the Rwandan Armed Forces inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, who sustained 320 deaths, while in addition to this the Rwandan Army destroyed five military vehicles and captured various equipment, including one anti-aircraft gun [piece de defense anti-aerienne], tubes of 37 mm [tubes de 37 mm], and one 12-tube Katyusha artillery piece of 107 mm having a 10 km range.

These arms were exhibited to Rwanda Radio journalists this afternoon at the Kigali military camp. The journalists also had the opportunity to see a field officer of the Ugandan army, who described himself as a major. He was captured along with several other assailants.

On the Rwandan side, during yesterday's attack, we mourn 10 deaths and 15 wounded.

Belgium's Eyskens Announces Cease-Fire

*AB2410191090 Paris AFP in English 1444 GMT
24 Oct 90*

[Text] Nairobi, Oct 24 (AFP)—A ceasefire between government troops and rebels in Rwanda took effect on

Wednesday [24 Oct] at 10 a.m. local time (0800 GMT), Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens told the press in the Kenyan capital.

He said he received a phone call from Rwandan counterpart Casimir Bizimungu telling him the government in Kigali had accepted the ceasefire. But the rebels had already violated it, Mr. Bizimungu had added, which made it "an absolute necessity" to organise supervision of the ceasefire, Mr. Eyskens said. That was an African responsibility, and a supervisory force could be stationed in Rwanda by the Organisation of African Unity, the Belgian minister said. Belgium was ready to provide logistics and financial backing, but not troops, he added.

Kenya

President Moi Holds Talks With Belgian Premier

EA2410152490 Nairobi KNA in English 0844 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Nairobi, 24th October—His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at his Kabarak home received and held talks with Belgian prime minister Mr Wilfried Martens. Their discussions centred on the current problems in the East Africa region, especially the prevailing situation in Rwanda.

The Belgian prime minister was accompanied by his defence minister, Mr Guy Coeme, and the Belgian ambassador to Kenya, Ms Christina Funnes-Noppen. Also present were minister for foreign affairs and international co-operation, Mr Wilson Ndolo Ayah; the minister for agriculture, Mr Elijah Mwangale; minister of state in the Office of the President, Mr Burudi Nabwera; the minister for labour, Mr Philip Masinde; and chief of protocol, Mr Njuguna Mahugu.

Official Reassures 'Genuine Refugees' on Status

EA2410154890 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] The principal immigration officer, Frank Kwinga, today said the police were rounding up illegal aliens staying in the country. He said he had told the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] representative, Sylvester Awuye, that genuine refugees would not be interfered with. Kwinga was speaking to KTN this morning on the current police swoops on aliens throughout Kenya. The immigration boss said those affected among the aliens were Ugandans who crossed into Kenya and obtain national identification. He said the UNHCR had told him that genuine refugees were expressing fears of being rounded up by the Kenyan security forces.

Somalia

Mogadishu Reportedly Calm; Police Comb District

AB2410230290 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Mogadishu, Oct 24 (AFP)—Violent demonstrations in the Somali capital on Tuesday [23 Oct] left three people dead and 31 injured, Interior Minister Abdi Kasim Salad Hssan announced here Wednesday. [passage omitted]

An extraordinary session of the Somali National People's Assembly (parliament) had also been convened for Tuesday night, with all members summoned to attend, though the agenda was not made public. But within an hour, an announcement over the radio cancelled the session without giving further details.

Police in combat gear were still patrolling all the main crossroads of the Somali capital on Wednesday as President Mohamed Siad Barre went on an inspection tour of the business centres affected by looting.

Meanwhile, the mayor of Mogadishu, Brigadier-General Ahmed Jiliow Addo, has ordered all shops and businesses along the busy five-kilometre (three-mile) heart road from Damey Hotel to the famous four gardens to close down from Wednesday until further notice.

Transport services resumed in the city and calm had apparently returned, but police and security forces were still combing certain quarters in the capital's districts of Wardhigley, Hawlwadag and Hodan, from where demonstrating crowds had fired on police on Tuesday.

It is not known how many political prisoners are currently held throughout Somalia, but nine detainees went on hunger strike in the central prison here last week to protest against their continued detention without trial. They were arrested in July last year, allegedly for distributing seditious literature.

SNM 'Massive' Operations in Berbera Reported

EA2510094090 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali
National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] SNM martyrs from the Sixth Battalion of the 13th Base have recently carried out massive military operations in Berbera town. During the operations, much enemy (?property) was destroyed. The fighting is still raging. The latest outcome of the fighting is as follows: 400 soldiers killed and many others wounded.

In another military operation carried out by the martyrs on 20 October 1990 at [placename indistinct], the enemy soldiers lost 27 and 40 others were wounded. In another military operation on the same date, the martyrs from the Sixth Battalion killed six enemy soldiers and wounded 11 others. The fighting took place at [words indistinct]. Ten SNM fighters were martyred and three others wounded. [Musical interlude]

SNM fighters, in particular from the Sixth Battalion, recently carried out a mine-laying mission along an asphalt road passing through the town center, in which a car with a 23mm gun was blown up. Some enemy conscripts were killed while six others were wounded. The righteous SNM fighters who carried out the mission suffered no casualties.

Pik Botha Comments on Morocco 'Milestone' Visit*MB2310180090 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, says the dignity and openness with which President F.W. de Klerk was received in Morocco, indicates that another milestone has been reached in South Africa's return to international acceptance.

Speaking on board the presidential aircraft between Rabat and The Hague, Mr. Botha pointed out that this has been the first visit by a South African head of state to an Arab country. He expected the positive effect to spill over to other African countries.

Mr. Botha said President de Klerk and King Hassan had agreed that a technical committee should be formed to discuss cooperation between South Africa and Morocco in various fields, among these were agriculture and food production, mining, and veterinary science.

Foreign Minister Promises No Troops in Gulf*MB2410125490 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1100 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] The South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, says there is no question of South African troops becoming involved in the Gulf crisis. Mr. Botha said that South Africa's responsibility lay in southern Africa, and that South Africa was in the process of scaling down its Defense Force activities. He said that no South African involvement in the Gulf could be justified to the South African taxpayer.

CP Comment Condemns De Klerk Statement*MB2410113790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1119 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Pretoria Oct 24 SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] has condemned President F. W. de Klerk's reported statement that he would be prepared to serve under ANC [African National Congress] deputy president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, as the final admission by the National Party [NP] that it was willing to subject South African whites to ANC domination.

CP deputy leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg said Mr. De Klerk's "shocking standpoint" showed that the NP no longer spoke on behalf of the majority of whites. "Mr. De Klerk did not request or receive a mandate from the voters to place them under rule by the ANC... The government owes the whites of South Africa an election in which they will be given the opportunity to choose their own government and representatives," he said.

De Beer Says Boycotts Endanger Stability*MB2310112190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1014 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] Durban Oct 23 SAPA—Town councils' power and service cuts to townships could lead to desperation that will aggravate unrest and conflict, Democratic Party [DP] leader Dr. Zach de Beer said in Durban on Tuesday [23 Oct].

In an address to University of Natal students, Mr. de Beer said rent and services charges boycott and the refusal to pay mortgage bonds were endangering stability and the very social contract on which society was based. He blamed township town councils' lack of legitimacy for the problems and urged the government to treat the situation seriously. Dr. de Beer said there were certain sinister and frightening aspects of South African life that were threatening the political settlement process.

The recent taxi and train murders on the Reef were executed with ruthless efficiency and the perpetrators had no inkling as to the politics of their victims. The motive seemed to be to raise the level of carnage in the country with a view to creating chaos and derail the process of democratic political settlement.

Referring to the arrest of three Afrikaaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] members for the ambush of a bus in Durban, Dr. de Beer said it was a crude, "racist" retaliation for the beach killing a few days before. The DP leader suspected extremist elements either from the right of the government or the left of the African National Congress (ANC) were responsible for the recent carnage.

However, he said the left lacked the military and organisational skill to execute the operations, and it was also not clear what black nationalist extremists have to gain from exacerbated violence and killing.

"It is also too clear that murderous behaviour among black people strengthens the hand of right-wing extremists whose aim is to re-establish total political control by whites. The Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] flavour of the whole thing is strong," he said, referring to Mozambique's rebel movement.

Dr. de Beer said until such time the government took effective action to root out people in the security forces, who planted a monkey's foetus on the door of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, there will be reason to suspect a third force is operating in the security forces without the knowledge of the cabinet.

Hani Praises De Klerk's 'Courageous Steps'*MB2410105590 Johannesburg SOWETAN in English
24 Oct 90 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Hani Praises De Klerk for His 'Courage'"]

[Text] Mr. Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's [African National Congress] military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation], said yesterday the National Party had taken "courageous steps" by unbanning the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Speaking during a Radio 702 talk show, Hani said State President F.W. de Klerk stood alone among other former leaders of the National Party.

But, he said, more would have to be done before ANC cadres could consider handing over their weapons to the Government and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The ANC was willing to play the role of facilitator in organising the release of prisoners like Odille Harrington, jailed in Zimbabwe for spying, and was already taking steps to release Government agents being held in its own camps, Hani said.

Negotiations with Inkatha were going ahead and a delegation headed by ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela would meet a delegation headed by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi soon, he said.

Hani said an UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group]-style force such as that used for Namibia's independence elections would not be necessary to monitor a future election. What South Africa needed was a constituent assembly.

Germany's unification and the resultant loss of military support from East Germany had come as a blow to the ANC, although it was still receiving "humanitarian" aid from Germany, he said.

Questioned on how he could believe socialism would succeed in South Africa when it had failed in Europe, he said the country's future economy would be decided by democratic vote.

National People's Party, Inkatha Hold Talks

*MB2410095890 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 0430 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Talks were held in Ulundi yesterday between the National People's Party of Mr. Amichand Rajbansi and the Inkatha Freedom Party under the leadership of Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The talks, which were described by both parties as fruitful, dealt with, among other things, negotiation politics and reconciliation, the rights of minority groups, and the violence in Natal.

Dr. Buthelezi said dialogue between different political parties could contribute to the creation of a multinational democracy:

[Begin video recording] [Buthelezi in English] It is important, as I've already stated, that there should be reconciliation now, while we are removing the last vestiges of apartheid, between people of all race groups.

[Rajbansi in English] This is part of the national debate that's taking place in this country, and we believe, ultimately, in a democratic South Africa. A broad, mass democratic alliance may be a factor which everyone may have to look forward to. [end recording]

ANC's Molefe Interviewed on Possible Meetings

*MB2410143490 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1120 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[From the "Africa South" program: Interview with Michael Molefe, ANC convenor in Bophuthatswana, by South African Broadcast Corporation correspondent Amos Sobetswe; date, place not given]

[Text] Despite ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Mandela's consistent refusal to meet with certain leaders of self-governing and independent states in South Africa, it now appears that he may concede to a meeting with President Lucas Mangope of the independent republic of Bophuthatswana. Such a possible get together will not be unconditional, as we hear from the convenor of the African National Congress in Bophuthatswana, Mr. Michael Molefe.

[Begin recording] [Molefe] What is actually going to happen is that all the branches in Bophuthatswana are going to meet and come up with a common position. As I am saying now they have already met [as heard] on the 13 October at Vryburgh and they have a common position on what to do, prior to the meeting of Comrade Nelson Mandela and President Mangope. Later on there are also aftereffects, some of the things that will be expected from the president himself to do, so those cannot be disclosed until the necessary preparations are made. Now what has happened in (?THE SOWETAN) is that those are the ideas of a single branch so that what we are talking of here, what I'm saying, I'm saying is what we have of all the branches that are involved in the whole set-up.

[Correspondent Amos Sobetswe] So are you saying that Mr. Mandela will meet President Lucas Mangope?

[Molefe] But... Yes, I can say so, but that will be determined by the branches themselves, not a single branch, but all the branches from Mafikeng and all those northern Cape, southern [Orange] Free State, Western Transvaal and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] branches. That's what I'm saying.

[Sobetswe] So you say there are conditions that Bop [Bophuthatswana] should meet. Are you prepared to reveal those conditions?

[Molefe] No. Not as yet. I'm not yet prepared until all the branches agree on a common strategy plus the National Executive Committee of the ANC knows about that.

[Sobetswe] Now you are talking about a possible meeting between President Lucas Mangope and Mr. Nelson Mandela but are you also helping it by calling stayaways like the tomorrow stayaway? [sentence as heard]

[Molefe] Well the tomorrow stayaway is in connection with Comrade (Morgan Motselu) who was killed by the Bophutatswana police. Now this, as I say, there are four issues there. We are trying to highlight the harassment and repression experienced by our people (?in) Bophutatswana. Secondly we are trying to highlight the continuous detentions that are going on and thirdly we are trying to reveal that we are sick and tired of the State of Emergency prevailing. Lastly, because of the death of our comrade (Morgan Motselu).

[Sobetswe] But, I mean, what I am saying is that: Why are you calling stayaways while you talk of a possible meeting between President Lucas Mangope and Mr. Nelson Mandela?

[Molefe] Well that might be on the strategic and [studio interference] you know, so this is what we are intending, to actually [word indistinct] the whole thing. The ball is not in our court, it is in his court, to react to that. [end recording]

ANC Denies Economic Defection to PAC

*MB2410123090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1209 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SAPA—The African National Congress on Wednesday [24 Oct] strongly denied that an alleged member of its economics department had defected to the rival Pan Africanist Congress [PAC].

In media reports last week, Mr Sipho Dlamini, a PhD graduate in economics, claimed he had defected to the PAC after disillusionment with the ANC. In response, the ANC said it had conducted investigations and found his allegations to be groundless.

"We have therefore come to the conclusion that the person called Sipho Dlamini was not a member of the ANC and, as far as we could ascertain, never worked with our department of economic policy. He cannot, therefore, be said to have defected from the ANC because he was never a member. His membership of the PAC should not be used to promote a kind of PAC vs ANC scenario," the ANC said.

The organisation did not, however, respond to allegations by Mr Dlamini that he had held a top-level meeting with senior ANC official Mr Andrew Mlangeni last week.

Commentary on Improving Relations With Morocco

*MB2410184890 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1555 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Station Commentary: "Relations between South Africa and Morocco"]

[Text] A highly successful meeting between the heads of state of South Africa and Morocco this week provided further confirmation that South Africa's relationship with Africa is rapidly returning to normal. In fact, agreement has already been reached on an upgrading of diplomatic relations between it and the North African state.

President F.W. de Klerk said after the meeting that he and King Hassan II had agreed that ties should be expanded and strengthened. Further talks will be held on landing rights for South African aircraft, and expanding trade. South Africa is already a major supplier of military equipment to Morocco.

The talks were important in that they signify a change in attitudes toward South Africa that extends far beyond the southern African region. South Africa and its immediate neighbors have already made substantial progress in improving links in order to expand trade, and other bilateral activities to their mutual benefit. Recently, these initiatives have extended to the island states of Madagascar, and the Comoros, as well as northward as far as Zaire, Rwanda, and Kenya.

The agreements that have been reached with Morocco are a sign of the growing interest among North and West African states in establishing more constructive relations with South Africa.

Until last year, there was very little open contact between South Africa and the rest of the continent. Two things have been responsible for the dramatic change. First, the South African Government has undertaken to move rapidly toward negotiations to create a new constitutional system in which all South Africans will have political rights. Secondly, changes in Europe have made African leaders realize that their countries' economies will only begin to improve when they are ready to cooperate with countries like South Africa that are able to assist with economic development. Eventually all will benefit from the changes that are now taking place.

Kenyan President Reportedly Kills Airline Flight

*MB2510050690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2159 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Oct 24 SAPA—South African Airways [SAA] were taken totally by surprise by reports on Wednesday [24 Oct] night that Kenya has reneged on an agreement to permit passenger flights between Johannesburg and Nairobi. SAA's head of Public Relations, Leon Els, told SAPA SAA was not aware of any cancellation of the agreement struck with Kenya Airways for each airline to start once-weekly flights between the two countries.

According to international news agency reports, Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi ordered Kenya Airways to abandon the plan. Kenya state radio quoted Mr. Moi as saying his government would not allow flights until South Africa's "abominable apartheid political system"

had been dismantled and trade sanctions had been reviewed by the international community.

Mr. Els said the development appeared to contradict the statement made by Kenya's foreign affairs minister that the agreement had been made between the two airlines, and not at government level, and the Kenyan Government would therefore not interfere.

Mr. Moi's decision apparently reflects the wishes of ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela who visited Kenya on October 13. Mr. Mandela urged Kenya to hold firm on sanctions to keep up pressure on South Africa to completely dismantle apartheid.

Mr. Els pointed out that the Kenyan foreign affairs minister's statements followed Mr. Mandela's visit and were apparently made in response to the ANC leader's request.

Airline officials had as recently as Tuesday this week been in contact with each other to finalise plans for the Kenya Airline flight to Johannesburg every Wednesday and a SAA flight to Nairobi every Saturday, Mr. Els said. The SAA flights were to start on December 1 and the Kenya Airlines flights on December 5.

Mr. Els emphasised SAA had not been informed of any change of plan and would proceed with arrangements, which were already at an advanced stage, unless it received official notice of cancellation. If Mr. Moi had been accurately quoted and the deal was off, SAA would be very disappointed, because this would be a blow to normalising relationships in Africa, Mr. Els said.

Council Considers Constitutional Proposals

*MB2410162890 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] A committee report tabled in the President's Council today contains the first tangible ideas that the government could use in negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation.

The report by the council's Committee for Constitutional Affairs deals with decision-making and conflict-dissolving mechanisms. In the report a suggestion is made that a new system should be somewhere between a federation and a union, and should include specific conciliation features.

The committee emphasized, however, that its findings should not be seen as final recommendations and that the report was nonprescriptive. The committee recommends that this country return to a bicameral parliamentary system. One chamber should be elected on a proportional basis and the other on a different basis to accommodate groups or regions. Both chambers should be able to initiate and approve legislation and should enjoy equal powers.

The committee regards a multiparty system as desirable for South Africa. In the report, it is stated that a constitution containing a bill of human rights is regarded as essential for the future South Africa. Both should be the result of negotiations to ensure their legality. However, the constitution should be enforceable directly, and a constitutional court is envisaged to ensure this.

The protection of groups should be built into the constitution and bill of human rights. The committee sees the role of the head of state as extremely important in achieving consensus, and suggests that if the ceremonial head of state is elected, the office should rotate among identified leaders. An executive head of state could promote effective government, but this has to be considered against negative aspects, such as workload, the danger of executive government, and control over cabinet decisions.

Commissioner Denies Not Acting Against Squatters

*MB2310185390 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1545 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] The commissioner of police, General Johan Van der Merwe, has strongly denied allegations that police neglected their duties in action against squatters plundering smallholdings in the Orange Farm area near Vereeniging. He says the police conducted the necessary investigations into incidents which were reported.

[Begin Van der Merwe video recording] I would like to emphasize that all these allegations are not in accordance with the facts available to the police. It is the duty of the police to protect the property of people and we are doing everything possible to fulfil this duty.

In cases where complaints came to our attention, we conducted the necessary investigation. In some cases arrests have already been made, in others people have already appeared in court, and in other cases they will appear in court as soon as possible.

We are trying, by means of patrols and other methods, to protect property, but I would like to add that when people leave premises unattended, that makes the task of the police more difficult.

We are considering the establishment of special units which will concentrate on combating crimes of this nature. In some areas we already have such special units operating. We are also examining other ways to combat this kind of evil, but I would not like to elaborate on that at present. [end recording]

Gazankulu Youths Secretly Trained as Soldiers

*MB2310103390 Johannesburg CITY PRESS
in English 21 Oct 90 p 1*

[Report by Elias Maluleke: "Youths Held at Army Camp; Gazankulu Chief in Forced Military Training Rumpus"]

[Text] Gazankulu youths recruited for training as nature conservationists exposed a major scandal this week after they were whisked off and trained as soldiers at a secret military base.

The youths, who exposed full details to CITY PRESS, were terrorised by Afrikaans and Zulu military instructors who said after being turned into soldiers who "think and act like whites", they would be sent for further training in Israel.

Some of the youths have disappeared after military police allegedly removed them from the camp—somewhere near the borders of Natal, Eastern Transvaal and Swaziland. Rumours are now spreading throughout Gazankulu that its Chief Minister, Prof. Hudson Ntsanwisi, is planning a secret army for his Ximoko xa Rixaka organisation, to make it fall in line with Inkatha.

In a dramatic development on Friday [19 Oct], Ntsanwisi went on the air on Radio Tsonga to deny the youths had been taken for military training with his knowledge.

Ximoko xa Rixaka, a cultural organisation, is widely tipped to become a political party to give Ntsanwisi the muscle to enter into negotiations on the new South African constitution.

Both UDF [United Democratic Front] and ANC [African National Congress] branches in the area are investigating the scandal.

A spokesman for the UDF, Edgar Mochwane, said they were busy collecting affidavits from the recruits.

Some of the youths broke their silence and spoke to CITY PRESS from their Gazankulu homes this week.

Lourens Mashabela, 20, Brian Masingi, 22, William Ngobeni, 22 and Kenneth Maroebela, 25, described the camp as "hell".

However, they said it was a "transit" camp as they would have been given full training at another camp called "Amajuba" in Natal, whereafter they would have been sent to Israel.

Maroebela said they were recruited through a Radio Tsonga broadcast early in August and asked to bring their ID books and school certificates to the old magistrates' court building in Giyani, Malamulele and Ritave District in Tzaneen.

Maroebela said people with the junior certificate were promised R[and]650 pm [per month] and matriculants R830.

They were medically examined and their details were taken down. The 129 who qualified were told to report on Monday August 13.

"Instead of being taken to the parks for Nature Conservation, we ended up receiving military training as soldiers in a camp near the Natal-Eastern Transvaal

border." They said the camp was a disused airfield, consisting mainly of a landing strip well out of sight in deep bushes.

More than 800 Zulus were also being trained at the camp.

Some recruits from Gazankulu escaped from the camp after only two days. Others demanded to be taken home after a week.

Masingi said when they complained on arrival that they were not there to join the army, an Afrikaans-speaking corporal told them the camp had nothing to do with nature conservation.

He named some of their instructors and said they would act like whites after the training.

Ngobeni said: "We woke at 4am [0200 GMT] to do exercises, jog and pretend there was war—in our own clothes, because they said we would receive uniforms in Amajuba on August 27," he said.

Maroebela said apart from the bad conditions in the camp and not being able to bathe, many youths in the camp from Gazankulu were "comrades" and felt disillusioned about becoming soldiers. A group "bolted" after two days.

"On Thursday, August 16, military police came with a truck and took some people away, saying they were going to be trained at Amajuba, including Walter Shikwambane whom I knew well."

The 20-year-old Shikwambane of Bonn village, Letaba, has not been seen since.

The police asked for a witness when his case was reported and Louis Mbalati, 22, one of the recruits, made a statement.

"How can they say our children are going to be nature conservationists and then make them soldiers instead?" asked Shikwambane's worried mother, Salvha, 60.

ANC's Tshwete Warns Craven to Forget Tours

WA2410160090 Paris AFP in English 1055 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] JOHANNESBURG, Oct. 24 (AFP) - South Africa's return to international rugby would be jeopardised by a foreign tour, anti-apartheid campaigners claim.

Steve Tshwete, who as a National Executive Committee member of the African National Congress is the leading black spokesman on sport, said South African Rugby Board [SARB] President Danie Craven was irresponsible to talk of breaking the moratorium on tours.

Craven, 80-year-old boss of South African rugby since 1956, has been tireless in his efforts to get his country back into the mainstream of international rugby. He

shocked the ruling white community by going to Harare two years ago for talks with the ANC leaders who were then banned and in exile. However, Craven threatened to break his promise on no tours while talks go on with the South African Rugby Union president Ebrahim Patel after an historic match in Soweto was called off because of black pressure.

South Africa are candidates for the 1995 World Cup and any hitches in forming a single ruling body for the sport harms its chances of staging that tournament.

Tshwete warned any such tour would have wider implications. "This will not affect only the talks on sport. It will have serious repercussions," he said. He claimed the SARB was too short-sighted. "They must have a broader vision," he urged, adding: "Craven must earn a tour to this country."

Tshwete said Craven was still the president of a racist body. "Craven has done nothing except screaming in the papers," he claimed.

Some sections of the white community have called on the ANC to sanction a rugby tour to prove to the extreme-right opposition that president Frederik W. de Klerk's steps to dismantle apartheid are producing results.

But Tshwete rejected the call. "That's silly. It's an opportunistic argument," he said. He stressed that ANC leader Nelson Mandela also had a constituency to satisfy and radical black opinion was firmly opposed to any lifting of the sporting boycott until real progress was made.

* Mandela's Divergent Views on Violence Examined

91AF0059B Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL* in English 21 Sep 90 pp 44, 46

[Text] "A man may be one of integrity, despite the mistakes he makes"—Nelson Mandela, speaking at an ANC [African National Congress] press conference last week, said of State President F.W. de Klerk. The words might just as easily be applied to Mandela—and, increasingly, questions are being asked about his political grip.

There is little doubt, if media conferences are anything to go by, that the ANC deputy president needs a hearing aid. He strains to hear questions and often it is apparent that either he has not properly heard or not grasped a question.

Despite his assertions that he lives in a township and speaks to his people all the time, Mandela does not always seem to relate to them. To a question about what assurances he could give township residents who live in fear in their homes and travel in fear on trains and buses, Mandela said people would be reassured to know that the ANC national executive committee would be meeting next Tuesday. How this was supposed to reassure people is hard to imagine.

Perhaps Mandela is suffering from a syndrome not unknown among leaders (Winston Churchill was a good example): The great man's followers become so paralysed by awe of him that they feel unable to contradict him and fail to keep him in touch with reality.

Mandela has also been inconsistent. Early in September, he called for government to use the "very strong, effective and well-equipped army and police force.... If it does, the violence will be something of the past." Now that government is doing exactly that, he has roundly condemned the new measures.

Mandela and de Klerk have agreed that much of the violence has been orchestrated by "highly professional killers, people who are highly trained." What is also needed, then, is criminal investigations into who these silent, organised killers are. Mandela sees hints of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]-type operations; there has also been suspicion that extreme rightwing elements may have been involved in incidents such as the Jeppe train massacre, with a view to making negotiations impossible.

Meanwhile, the new measures appear to have put a lid on the violence and whatever Mandela says, the ordinary citizen will be grateful for that. However, there is a grave danger that calls for more guns (whether for police or ANC supporters) will only worsen the violence.

This is why it is difficult to understand Mandela's statements that "the demand from the people that they should arm themselves is a reasonable one" and that "there is no point in calling for peace in the townships because violence is caused by faceless elements. If I said anything to the people, it would be that they should defend themselves."

Township residents armed to the teeth and police bristling with machine guns is not a recipe for peace. Care should be taken on both sides, in word and deed, to avoid inflaming the position on the ground. We could do with less talk from Mandela about arming ordinary citizens—and no more pointed political statements from police officers.

All variations of anarchy have to be brought under control. The ANC and Cosatu [Congress on South African Trade Unions] must abandon the stayaway as a method of protest. It achieves nothing and has a serious effect on productivity, earnings, jobs and—most destructive—schooling. Surely a more original and constructive approach is possible? Rents must be paid, rates must be paid; residents must be encouraged not only to pay for what they have but to work as communities to uplift townships. And government must move swiftly to remove the remaining apartheid restrictions.

Mandela and the ANC should also remember that there is a powerful white constituency that the organisation is not addressing—and which is increasingly fearful of a

future under the ANC. Mandela's visit to Temple Shalom in Johannesburg last Friday was an important but rare gesture.

While both de Klerk and his Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok have taken it upon themselves to visit black areas—at some personal risk—Mandela and his lieutenants should be doing the same in white communities.

The country seemed this week to have retreated a few steps from the edge of a precipice. The townships appeared calmer and the police achieved a much-needed boost with the arrest of rightwinger Piet "Skiet" Rudolph.

As the FM went to press, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting at a secret venue and there were hopes of a comprehensive endorsement of Mandela's earlier assertion that negotiations would not be diverted.

The leaders need to keep their nerve. The rest of us will just have to sit tight and remember the words of De Tocqueville: "Liberty is generally born in stormy weather, growing with difficulty among civil discords and only when it is already old does one see the blessings it has brought.

* Whites Urged To Join African National Congress

91AF0049D Lusaka SECHABA in English
Sep 90 pp 8-11

[Article by Jean Middleton: "South African Whites Time To Make a Choice"; First paragraph is SECHABA introduction printed in bold print; quotation marks as published]

[Text] History is catching up with South African whites. Many are turning to face their destiny, to consider what their place will be in our new society, and what contribution they can make to building it. Whites cannot go it alone, and they will survive only if they cooperate with other groups.

In the past, there were always a few whites in South Africa who refused to accept racism, and committed themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of democracy. They were very few, and there were not many organisations they could belong to. The Communist Party of South Africa was the first political organisation open to whites to stand firmly for democracy and an end to race discrimination; so, in the 1930s and 1940s, progressive whites joined it. There, together with members from other racial groups, they found an alternative to the segregated life that, as whites, they would otherwise have been obligated to lead. They also acquired a political training and a political understanding they could not have found anywhere else.

After World War II, white ex-soldiers in the Party succeeded for some time in mobilising other white ex-soldiers in the Springbok Legion, on the grounds that soldiers who had fought fascism overseas should be

prepared to fight it at home. Their most important campaign was that in opposition to the removal of coloured voters from what was called the 'common voters roll' (though this was a misnomer, for the roll had been common only to whites and Coloureds, and Africans and Indians had never had a place on it.)

Those years came to an end. The Nationalist government came to power, Coloured voters were removed from the roll, the Communist Party was banned.

A stream of propaganda from the regime presented communism as evil, and identified as communist any talk of democratic rights for all South Africans. Whites who had been in the Party were isolated from most other whites, who feared the law; and they had no political home.

They filled the gap in 1952, when, in consultation with the ANC [African National Congress] and the Indian Congress, some of them became the founder members of the Congress of Democrats (COD). COD was tiny, but it took its place in the Congress Alliance, and helped to organise the Congress of the People at Kliptown. Some of its national and local officials were among the 156 people arrested in 1956 and brought to court in the Treason Trial, in which the regime attempted in vain to prove that the Freedom Charter was 'communist' and therefore 'treasonable.'

The brief of COD was to present the principle of one person one vote to whites, to interpret for them the policy of the other Congress organisations, and to involve them in Congress campaigns. The task exposed members to police harassment and brought few rewards, but during its life the COD brought out innumerable statements, articles, leaflets, posters, directed at whites. Activists pushed slogans in response to events of the time: "No passes for African women"—"Vote no for a Verwoerd Republic"—"Do you want a fascist education for your child?"

As the first-generation members, one by one, were served with banning orders that prevented their taking part in the organisation, the COD continued to attract a small but steady trickle of enthusiastic new members, who kept it going till it was banned in 1962, under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Illegal slogan-painting continued for a time (Apartheid is the killer" and "Hang Vorster" were responses to the Sabotage Act) but all attempts members of COD made to found new white organisations failed. The new organisations didn't get off the ground. "I am ashamed of my fellow whites," a comrade who had been in COD told the court in 1965, before she was sentenced to 2 years for illegal political activity. That must have been the general feeling at that time, among former members.

What had made the Congress of Democrats unique was its relationship with the Congress Alliance. Through it, whites could become part of the mass movement, informed and led, as democrats should be, by the wishes

and aspirations of the majority. When COD was banned, the ANC was underground, and other Congress organisations were soon effectively disabled by banning and general harassment of individuals. There was no legal mass organisation left that was able to speak for the mass of the people, and White democrats, who wanted open political activity and believed that the will of the people should direct it, were in a vacuum.

Some found their place in the underground Communist Party. The membership of the Party came from all race groups, the Party had always given unequivocal support to the Congress movement, and in its ranks the voice of the people might still be heard, though quietly, and in secret. Later, when membership became open to them, some joined the ANC underground.

There was only one other non-racial organisation, the Liberal Party, which continued to exist until the late 1960's. Those who had been in or close to COD, however, found the Liberal Party an uneasy place to try and make a political home in, for it had been divided over the questions of universal franchise and of support for the ANC.

Those were arid years. There was only one white organisation in that time whose numbers grew and whose policy developed. It was the Black Sash, a women's organisation. It had begun in the 1950s as a band of white women protesting against repressive legislation; it grew into an active, campaigning body which is now affiliated to the Federation of Transvaal Women and the Federation of South African Women.

In the 1980s, the changes that took place in South African politics were so wide-reaching and so profound that political analysts and historians will be discussing them for a long time to come. There was a corresponding change in white attitudes. We can speculate about the conditions and events that forced this change.

There were the pressures from overseas criticism of apartheid. Whites found the political, cultural and sporting isolation of South Africa burdensome. The sports boycott in particular touched them where it hurt, and the rows over such matters as the rebel cricket tours and Zola Budd's attempts to evade the boycott must have served as an example to many ambitious young white South Africans who were hoping to get into international sport.

Whites in general knew that in the outside world Nelson Mandela was praised everywhere while they, as the beneficiaries of apartheid, were regarded in many quarters with contempt and dislike. Their South African passports, and even their distinctive accents, had long been a source of embarrassment for them when travelling overseas. Many began to wonder whether the privileges they enjoyed were worth all this.

Most important, perhaps, was the fact that they saw the international campaign for sanctions and disinvestment

contributing to the collapse of the South African economy, in which they were all involved.

The emergence of a new generation had something to do with it. Like the French in Algeria and the United States in Vietnam, South Africa found its colonial wars undermined by disaffection among conscripts and their families. The End Conscription Campaign provided a focus of protest. It also began to organise friendly social contact between young whites and young blacks. The organisers believed that white boys who had taken part in 'fun runs' and other such enjoyable activities with black kids would later be reluctant to go into the townships as soldiers and oppress black kids there.

When they found themselves involved, or about to become involved, fighting against Angolan villagers and the people of the South African townships, some young conscripts rebelled, and resisted taking part in something they believed to be morally indefensible. Some of them left the country; some stood up and refused to fight; some went absent without leave. Their parents were dismayed, and joined the campaign, and white mothers demonstrated against compulsory military service and against the war itself. There was objection to the war, too, on grounds other than moral grounds: for people in general began to perceive it as yet another drain on the failing strength of the economy.

Some fears whites had for the future were dispelled as they began to find out about the realities of the ANC and ANC policy. In discussion throughout the country, the terms of the Freedom Charter were becoming known. Under the auspices of IDASA [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa], numbers left for 'talks' with members of the ANC, and returned to report on fruitful discussions. Quite a number of whites must have heard and pondered over the words addressed to them in the 8 January Messages of 1986 and 1987, in which the ANC called on whites to join the democratic struggle, and added words of praise for young army refusers.

Most important of all in changing white attitudes was the protest and resistance of the oppressed people themselves.

Whites with decent feelings were disturbed at the unrest of 1984-1986, and generally shocked by the brutality used against it by the state. When new mass organisations like the UDF [United Democratic Front] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] came into being, their spectacular growth, their tremendous power, was clear from all reports. White shopkeepers and shop-owners affected by consumer boycotts made representations to Pretoria to meet the boycott demands. They began thinking about how to ensure their future by having a better relationship with the consumers, and they saw the example of the Watson brothers, who continued to do a thriving trade because they were known to have previously shown loyal friendship to people of other races. Strikes, particularly the SATS [South African Transport Services] and NUM

[National Union of Mine Workers] strikes, shook the economy of the country and the equanimity of the privileged.

Many whites began to accept then that there was no stopping the march to freedom. When all the mass action culminated in the great Defiance Campaign of 1989, many joined it.

The UDF provided a point of affiliation for a wide range of organisations. White organisations that accepted the principle of one person one vote were able to affiliate. Thus, after more than 20 years, white democrats were again able to be part of the main political thrust in their country, take part in discussions on the Freedom Charter, take their place in the general struggle for freedom.

In the 60's, there was only one white organisation that was part of the liberation movement. Now there are several.

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC), launched in February 1984, with sister organisations in Cape Town and Durban, was the first. It said in a statement:

"While some whites are involved in a number of non-racial affiliates of the UDF, JODAC is the only affiliate organising whites qua whites. We believe that this is a crucial contribution to the achievement of a peaceful and just society in South Africa.

"JODAC does not represent 'white interests' in the UDF—rather we try to represent the UDF in the white community."

Over the years, JODAC held a number of successful and well-attended public meetings. (The most recent was held earlier this year in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand, and was addressed by Walter Sisulu.) Nevertheless, members of JODAC began to feel that other organisations—notably the Five Freedoms Forum [FFF]—were doing a better job than they were of organising whites into the mass democratic movement. "FFF was holding good meetings, too," says one JODAC activist. "People were coming to our meetings, but they weren't signing up." In May 1990, JODAC took a decision to dissolve itself. It decided that its members should join the ANC and work to spread the influence of the ANC among whites.

Besides the Five Freedoms Forum, there are other white UDF affiliates, doing more specialised educating and mobilising work. The Afrikaans Demokrate, a small but enthusiastic organisation working among Afrikaners, showed its support for the ANC when it took its banner to the Soccer City rally in October. In Johannesburg, Jews for Social Justice and, in Cape Town, Jews for Justice and, work in the Jewish community; both report successful meetings with new faces, and interested enquiries.

Whites are not all moving towards the democratic camp, of course. The full picture is one of increasing polarisation. Isolated and alone in a population that calls for peace, the white right wing speaks increasingly of conflict and physical violence.

The National Party itself experienced the upheavals of polarisation when the Conservative Party broke away. At a rally in May at the Voortrekker Monument, Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party defied de Klerk's policies, said the third war of Afrikaner freedom had begun, and spoke in defence of right-wing vigilantes.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [AWB—Afrikaner Resistance Movement] has as its leader the notorious Eugene Terre'Blanche, who makes public statements urging whites to carry arms. Another group, the Wit Wolwe, is typified by the mass murderer, Barend Strydom. There are reports of a proliferation of organisations. One, founded by a former member of the Hitler Youth, is for children; at least one claims international connections; some are openly vigilante groups formed to "guard white property" and to "prevent crime."

Somewhere in these ranks, and undoubtedly connected with members of the strangely-named and recently disbanded Civil Cooperation Bureau, are those shadowy figures who attack activists in the democratic movement with bullets, petrol bombs and letter bombs; who roam the streets of small towns at night looking for blacks and murdering those they find. It can indeed be said of them, as Moses Mabhida said of the anonymous killers of Ruth First, that they "live in secrecy and will die in shame."

In fact that they hope to achieve their bizarre objectives shows how out of touch they are with reality. Even the most exaggerated notion of their own superiority cannot lead them to suppose that they are capable of subjugating the whole South African nation by force. Demographers now claim that, in 20 years' time, whites will form only 10 percent of the population of South Africa, and Afrikaners 5.8 percent. These right-wing white killers, whose political thinking is all in terms of bloodshed and threats and intimidation, are therefore the minority of a minority. Brutal as they are, murderous and unscrupulous as they are, they can never be a significant force in the future of South Africa. The mass democratic movement can deal with them, and it will.

Many whites are still sitting on the fence, immobilised by fear and doubt. History is not going to wait for them. They should decide now to join, as equals and countrymen, in building our common future in South Africa. Democracy and peace should hold no terrors for them.

* ARMSCOR Reexamining Role After Cutbacks

91AF0059A Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 21 Sep 90 pp 24, 26

[Text] The launch of the Rooivalk HX-2 combat support helicopter was to have been Armscor's finest hour. The aircraft, by far the most sophisticated military system

ever produced by the organisation, was claimed to have a local content of nearly 100 percent and to match the performance of any equivalent machine in the United States or Soviet Union. For more than 6 years, up to 600 engineers at Armscor and its suppliers worked to bring the helicopter from the drawing board to the battlefield.

However, when Armscor subsidiary Atlas Aircraft unveiled the Rooivalk in January, the Air Force had already shelved plans to buy the machine. For now, at least, the only hopes of recouping some of the millions invested in Rooivalk lie in the export market.

The withdrawal from Angola, independence in Namibia and sudden political reforms of recent months pulled the plug on SA's [Republic of South Africa] war machine. The Rooivalk is one of the 11 Armscor projects put on ice by the Defence Force (SADF). A further 49 have been scrapped.

Government announced in March it is reducing defence spending by an effective R1,8bn [ranus] this year—though it will still cost taxpayers more than R10bn, which is nearly 14 percent of the State budget.

With housing, education and employment now the most critical issues facing government and the rooi gevaar fast evaporating, it is almost inevitable that defence spending will be slashed further. Military analysts predict at least R1bn more will be lopped off next year's defence budget.

For Armscor, lynchpin of SA's armaments industry, the past 12 months have been traumatic. Stung by heavy cuts in domestic defence spending, the State-owned organisation has, for the first time since it was formed in 1977, been forced to re-examine its role.

After lengthy discussions with Cabinet and representatives of the private sector, Armscor last week unveiled a strategy for the coming decade, involving a substantial restructure and streamlining, more emphasis on the marketing of military equipment abroad and, perhaps most important, far greater cooperation and the transfer of technology to local industry.

As a result of the reorganisation, two separate divisions will handle procurement and international marketing activities. Industrial interests, comprising 10 subsidiaries, have been grouped into three lines of business—aviation, weapons systems and support services—to enable the organisation to work more closely with companies in these sectors. Measures will also be introduced to improve efficiency.

Executive Chairman Johan van Vuuren stresses Armscor's primary mission remains to procure and develop armaments for the SADF, police and prison service. "I don't foresee any cooling off of our relationship with the Defence Force," he says, adding that it is important to continue to have strong ties with the military, to produce the most effective and efficient products.

Of Armscor's subsidiaries' revenues, thought to be about R2bn in 1990, well over 70 percent comes from military

products such as aircraft, rockets, guided weapons systems and night-vision equipment. Though Armscor had undoubtedly made substantial exports of some of these products, the SADF is by far its biggest customer.

The new strategy aims to reduce the State corporation's dependence on sales to the SADF while making much better use of its huge investment in technology.

Armscor is estimated to have spent more than R3bn in acquiring technology in a wide range of fields, such as electronics, avionics, industrial chemistry and metallurgy, to overcome the arms embargo imposed by the UN in 1977. As well as procuring technology from abroad it has also funded considerable research and development at local universities and private contractors.

The organisation has also developed impressive management and technical skills in the design, manufacture, quality control and marketing of highly sophisticated products. It is thought to be SA's largest exporter of manufactured goods.

Government believes it is imperative these resources be channelled into local industry to stimulate the economy and create jobs, says Van Vuuren. "We are one of the few organisations that can really do something to help the manufacturing sector."

Armscor works closely with nearly 1,000 private-sector suppliers, says Van Vuuren. It believes it can extend these partnerships to produce a wide range of commercial products for international as well as domestic markets. Some suppliers have already begun applying technology developed for Armscor to commercial products such as nitrocellulose, safety flares, ammunition, ceramic pumps, beer cans—even cricket bats.

Opportunities for collaboration are plentiful in areas such as electronics, automotive engineering, avionics and chemical engineering, says Van Vuuren.

He acknowledges that adapting Armscor to meet the needs of the new SA will be far from easy. Like many of its suppliers it is already hurt by cutbacks in defence spending. In addition, it is looking to increase its involvement in commercial industry at a time of heavy recession.

"Our backs are to the wall. We have to work flat out to keep the technology alive."

Production at Armscor plants, particularly munitions factories, has been scaled down and the head count trimmed from a peak of 29,000, 2 years ago to about 20,000. Further retrenchments could still be necessary. Management at some of the 10 subsidiaries may be restructured, says Van Vuuren.

At some suppliers, the situation is even worse. It is calculated that for every person retrenched by Armscor a further six to eight have been laid off by suppliers. At

least 120,000 people at 975 companies in the private sector are thought to depend to some extent on military contracts.

Since its beginnings in the mid-Seventies, Armscor has always worked closely with the private sector. About 70 percent of its annual procurement budget is farmed out to subcontractors. Only final assembly of weapons systems and the manufacture of highly strategic and specialised components—for example, gun barrels, missiles, shells and optical equipment—are undertaken by subsidiaries such as Lytelton Engineering, Somchem and Eloptro.

The development of the G6 mobile artillery system involved 160 companies in the private sector, says Van Vuuren.

This year, Armscor is expected to award contracts totalling R1,8b [rands] to suppliers in the private sector. A similar sum is expected to be generated by companies supplying Armscor contractors with services and equipment.

Well down on previous years, this is likely to decline further. Already major suppliers in the R10bn-a-year electronics industry—one of Armscor's biggest areas of spending—are calling for government assistance to develop new markets. Groups such as Barlow Rand's Reunert Technology, Altech and Grinaker Electronics—some of which have also been hit by cuts in Post Office spending—are trying to broaden their businesses.

Many engineering firms have battled to replace Armscor contracts. A lot are suffering badly, says Steel & Engineering Industries Federation economist Michael McDonald. Retrenchments in the industry, refuelled by recession, are rising.

McDonald points out that it will not be easy for Armscor to turn its business around while industry is in a serious recession.

However, Chamber of Business Deputy DG Ron Haywood believes Armscor strategy could act as a catalyst for industry. "It could help speed up the implementation of our industrial strategy."

The cornerstone of this strategy is greater emphasis on developing the manufacturing sector. Armscor, says Haywood, has the skills, experience and technology to encourage the development of manufacturing industries. He adds it is important for Armscor to be seen as working with, rather than competing against, the private sector.

"Industry doesn't want a parastatal coming in and competing in a declining market."

Haywood is confident Armscor has a lot to offer industry. "SA must become a global player with world-standard product quality. Armscor has been a global player all along."

It is now up to the organisation to identify potential areas of cooperation and forge relationships with private-sector companies in those markets. Joint ventures and even the privatisation of some non-strategic operations could be on the cards.

Haywood adds that Armscor management has considerable experience in international trade, as well as an extensive network of international contacts. This could be used to promote exports of commercial products.

Though Armscor is loath to talk about sales on the international armaments market, it is recognised as one of SA's most successful exporters. Since 1982, it has supplied artillery, military vehicles and a host of other armaments systems to more than 30 countries. JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY estimates these exports to be worth upwards of R2bn.

Van Vuuren is optimistic that with more aggressive and focused marketing Armscor can improve export revenues. In less than 10 years, it has established a reputation for reliable and well-priced armaments systems suited for hot and dry environments.

SA is estimated to be the world's 10th largest exporter of military equipment. G5 and G6 artillery guns, the Rooikat armoured car and, more recently, the Rooivalk helicopter are considered to be world-class.

Van Vuuren says Armscor hopes to capitalise on the favourable exchange rate as well as the thawing of international relations. He adds that, in the past, exports had to take second place to the local war effort.

However, Armscor is likely to meet increasingly stiff competition from military suppliers from the United States, the Soviet Union, the Far East and Europe.

Though tension in the Gulf—where Armscor is thought to be a major supplier—may fuel arms sales to the Middle East, the world market for military equipment is in a slump. World-wide expenditure on defence electronics, for example, peaked at US\$1.02 trillion in 1987 and is falling by about 5 percent a year. As defence budgets in the United States, Soviet Union and Europe are curtailed, major military contractors are increasingly looking for sales in Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The SADF is likely to provide Armscor's bread and butter for many years.

Helmoed Heitman, local correspondent for the authoritative JANE'S DEFENSE WEEKLY, agrees: "Even if the Defence Force were allowed to buy equipment abroad, the rand is so weak that it could not afford to."

The extent of this business will depend on government. Though it desperately needs to cut military expenditure to fund social upliftment programmes, government is unlikely to risk weakening the Defence Force. A well-equipped military deterrent is needed to check increasing civil unrest.

Armcor has nearly completed developing the next generation of military equipment for the Army, says Heitman. He expects the Defence Force to go ahead with the introduction of these products but more slowly than originally planned. This could allow Armcor to cut costs by stretching the time taken to manufacture the equipment. Many ships and planes used by the Navy and Air Force, on the other hand, will soon need replacing, says Heitman. Some will be redundant by the year 2000.

Whether government will commit funds to re-equip these services is unclear. "I suspect this government will do what most do; run down defences until there is another war."

*** Jurists Evaluate Findings on Natal Violence**

91AF0049A Durban THE DAILY NEWS in English
24 Sep 90 p 10

[Article by Nicola Cunningham-Brown: "Natal's Tragic Mistakes"—First paragraph introductory paragraph; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Wide-ranging suggestions for ending the violence in Natal have been made by representatives of the International Commission of Jurists who recently spent some time in the province investigating the conflict. The group, the first international commission to investigate the Natal violence, plans to meet British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich.

The most vivid impressions of Natal gained by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) during their recent 2-week tour of the strife-torn province was the "stark contrast between the black townships and their white neighbours."

In their first document, entitled "Tragic Mistakes" and drawn up by John Macdonald QC [Queen's Counsel] from Britain, Christian Ahlund from Sweden and Jeremy Sarkin from South Africa, the ICJ stated that after years of the "most appalling violence, when more than 4,000 people have been killed and tens of thousands have been driven from their homes, people are fearful and demoralised."

"While apartheid and the ideology of separate development are the root causes of the trouble, violent political rivalry has now come to be the dominant factor in people's lives," they said.

"The tragedy was brought home to us vividly when a 14-year-old boy and his 10-year-old sister living in KwaMakhuta told us how on 9 March 1990 they were woken up at 12:50 a.m. by the sound of the door being broken down, how they heard their father plead with the intruders by name to put their weapons down and fight with their fists.

"Then the children heard shots.

"They found their father's body in the passage and their mother's leaning over towards the telephone.

"The attackers are known but they are still at large. Those children will carry the marks of this tragedy for the rest of their lives."

The ICJ said people in the province's black townships were crying out for help, "and that help must come first from the government."

"We were told by leading businessmen in Durban that violence poses an even greater threat to investment and the economy than sanctions.

"Foreign Minister Pik Botha agreed that this was so.

"Government action must send clear signals to people in the communities that they want a police force which has the confidence, trust and respect of all South Africans."

However, they said the wrong signals were still being given.

"Last week, instead of enforcing the present restrictions in Natal on carrying 'cultural weapons,' the government saw fit to extend the circumstances when cultural weapons may be carried.

"What are ordinary people to think when the government bans 'cultural weapons' in the Transvaal and extends the circumstances in which they can be lawfully carried in Natal?"

They identified six areas in which they believed the government was obliged to act:

—"The carrying of cultural weapons must be banned at all political meetings and rallies.

—"The problem of the KwaZulu Police must be addressed.

"They are perceived to be partial by the vast majority of the population. They are player and referee, and in some places their conduct has been violent and cruel.

"In areas like KwaMakhuta, where there is the clearest possible evidence of gross misconduct, they must be suspended from duty and replaced by the South African Police.

"Throughout KwaZulu, citizens should be able to contact the SAP [South African Police] if they need help and to be turned away on spurious constitutional grounds.

—"Police resources must be beefed up—the police must prevent clashes and not remain on the sidelines.

"The regional commissioner of police, Major-General Johann van Niekerk, told us there were only 150 investigating policemen in Natal to cope with the violence.

"The Attorney-General for Natal, Mike Imber SC [Senior Counsel], said that on average each officer has 100 murder dockets to investigate. We asked him how

many they should have. He said perhaps 10, but one of his deputies thought it was unrealistic to investigate more than one docket at a time.

"The investigating branch should be dramatically increased.

"Incidentally, we had excellent reports on all sides of the captains in charge of investigations.

"We think good police officers should be encouraged and they should be promoted to take command of a larger force.

"It is difficult for the ordinary policeman to adjust to the fact that 'the enemy'—the African National Congress—has now been unbanned.

"The police must take retraining and refresher courses much more seriously.

"We suggest that a second police staff college should be established and that the teachers at the college should regularly exchange duties with officers from countries overseas.

"Whenever possible, the government should use Zulu-speaking police and Zulu-speaking members of the Defence Force. It was a mistake to withdraw the Zulu-speaking 121 Battalion from Natal.

—"The so-called 'warlords' must be prosecuted.

"The attorney-general, who is at present appearing in the case of (Samuel) Jamile, a Deputy Minister of the KwaZulu Government, told us it was much easier to obtain witnesses when Jamile was arrested and detained.

"We do not understand why people like David Ntombela, a member of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, whom we have met, have not also been arrested and detained pending trial. In February 1989 an inquest found on the balance of probabilities that Ntombela had committed two murders. He has been accused of further killings and yet neither the A-G [Attorney General] nor his deputies had any recollection of seeing a file on Ntombela.

—"An increase in investigation policemen will mean an increase in persecutions. This will place a strain on the over-stretched and inadequate prosecution service.

"Too many prosecutors are inexperienced and many leave for private practice after a short time. Senior prosecutors must be seconded from other areas to help bring cases to trial within 3 months of arrest.

—"Most important of all, the government should lift the state of emergency in Natal. It is not needed. The authorities have ample legal powers to control the situation.

"The state of emergency encourages policemen to cut corners and break the rules, because they enjoy wide immunities while the emergency lasts.

"We believe the lifting of the state of emergency would be the best way of convincing people in the townships that the government means business.

The ICJ said that if the government gave a clear signal, they believed it would be followed by a concrete response.

"We found the ANC people we spoke to on the ground recognise that the violence comes from both sides, that some young comrades are out of hand and that the ANC has a responsibility to try and do something about it.

"We do not, however, find that members of Inkatha we spoke to had a similar awareness of the need to control and discipline their supporters. At every level we were told by Inkatha supporters that all that is needed to bring peace is for Mandela to talk to Buthelezi.

"We agree that there is an urgent need for a meeting between the ANC leadership and the Inkatha leadership, but any meeting if it is to achieve anything must be as carefully prepared as any other summit meeting, and there must be some assurance that if an agreement is reached it will be carried out.

"We therefore suggest that the meeting should be four-sided: the ANC, Inkatha, the government and the churches, the role of the latter two being to provide some guarantees that the agreement is carried out and that the Inkatha Central Committee does not again seek to impose a moratorium on peace—a concept which is unique in the history of diplomacy and reflects no credit on Inkatha.

"Finally, we suggest the government should invite a team of international monitors, perhaps drawn from the ECC countries, to monitor on a continuing basis the law enforcement agencies and to report directly to the state president.

"This team would need powers to summon witnesses and require the production of documents. A similar scheme has recently been agreed for El Salvador."

* Parties' 'State of Preparedness' Viewed

* ANC, NP

91AF0058A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 6 Aug 90 pp 6-7

[Article: "On Our State of Readiness"; first paragraph is THE NEW NATION introduction]

[Text] As the democratic movement enters a new terrain of struggle, the state of preparedness becomes one of the most important aspects for each interested party and it will determine whether each party is able to advance its position. NEW NATION takes a look at some of the parties involved and their state of preparedness for these developments.

The Pretoria Minute has propelled the democratic movement into a new terrain of struggle with negotiations on substantive constitutional issues now squarely on the agenda.

In terms of the Harare Declaration, once discussions between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides have been agreed upon, negotiations should proceed.

The declaration points out that these negotiations should proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new constitution and the mechanisms for drawing it up.

Both parties have interpreted the Pretoria agreement as suggesting that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiations on a new constitution".

But serious questions flow from the implications of this interpretation, and they need urgent examination.

Perhaps the most urgent is the state of preparedness of the interested parties as they enter this terrain of struggle. This is probably the single most important factor that will determine how forcefully and with what success each party is able to advance its respective position.

While the ANC [African National Congress] entered the process of negotiations occupying the moral high ground, the movement's fledgling structures have not been able to keep up with the rapid pace of events set in motion by the government's agenda.

The government has at the same time seized on every opportunity to destabilise the ANC and delay consolidation of its structures. The recent detention of key leaders and the Reef violence are just two examples.

The ANC's organisational weakness has consistently placed the government in a position to set the agenda and dictate the pace of negotiations. And this in itself has left the ANC little time to consolidate the mass support it obviously commands.

And the question now being asked is whether the level of organisation in the democratic movement has changed in the last seven months and what is its state of preparedness to engage the government on this new terrain of struggle—namely constitutional negotiations.

There is consensus in most circles that relatively little has been achieved in organisational terms since the release of senior ANC leaders in October last year and the unbanning of the ANC and SACP [South African Communist Party] in February.

The groundswell of support demonstrated all over the country following these historic events has not been harnessed and transformed into tangible organisation at grassroots level.

But the ANC has been dogged by a number of problems, many of which it has not been able to overcome.

One of the major problems has been to assimilate and merge varying methods and cultures of organisation within the democratic movement and within the ANC itself.

Inside the liberation organisation, a formula to fuse its three components—key members from exile, leaders and activists from prison and those who operated through other organisations while the movement was banned—into a cohesive and well-oiled machine still has to be found.

That this formula is not yet in place is evident from signs of uncertainty among key activists on how to proceed with rebuilding the organisation under the new conditions.

With the ANC and SACP being run along strict military lines for almost 30 years, where simple organisational questions had to be dealt with as security matters, adapting to conditions of legality have clearly not been easy.

The task of merging different strands in the organisation and methods of operation molded under conditions of illegality, with the traditions of strict accountability of the democratic formations inside the country, also remain incomplete.

This is evident in the perception at grassroots level that there is a lack of an overall strategy and a political programme. The shortcoming has manifested itself in a lack of understanding among key activists on what needs to be done.

And this lack of understanding has translated itself into a reluctance among sectors to co-operate with the ANC on the issue of establishing new grassroots structures.

It has been said that this may be based on unfounded fears that their leadership positions may be usurped by activists returning from exile.

Commenting on these fears, the ANC's Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) regional convenor, Kgalema Motlanthe, told NEW NATION: "I think there may be a problem here.

"It may be that activists have not got a clear message that there is enough room for other structures to co-exist with the ANC.

"The final result is that the ANC motherbody is not allowed the opportunity to establish itself as a political centre."

He says it is important that these fears are expressed openly and that this was possible under the new conditions of legality. "It helps in building a solid organisation because these problems can be tackled as they come," explains Motlanthe.

While these problems are being viewed as serious, equally important are the consequences that flow from not having mass structures in place. One of the results is

the failure to maintain effective channels of communication between the mass base and the leadership.

Effective communication and political education remain central to genuine mass participation, especially with negotiations moving to the centre stage of struggle.

Part of the lack of understanding, and in some cases even a measure of discontent and disagreement with recent developments reflected in the Pretoria Minute, can be traced back to the virtual absence of communication within the democratic movement.

Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] general secretary Jay Naidoo says there is an urgent need to develop an overall political strategy to build a strong mass organisation.

Serious weaknesses still exist at the level of developing proper strategic direction, strong cadreship and action to sustain structures, he points out.

"We need to deepen the political content of our organisations and entrench democratic practices because this is the only way in which you can involve the mass of our people in every struggle," Naidoo adds.

"It is in this context that we make the demand for an elected constituent assembly because it guarantees mass participation in the political processes at the negotiating table."

The demand for a constituent assembly, however, remains hollow in the absence of lines of communication between leadership and the mass constituency. Naidoo agrees but adds "that is precisely why we need to develop a political cadreship and a leadership that will advance the structural dimension of our organisation".

He, however, stresses that it will be wrong not to see the process of negotiations as part of the process of building mass structures. The ANC, he says, has demanded from the government that it meets certain preconditions before negotiations can begin.

These preconditions, Naidoo explains, have been demanded to create the space for organisations to grow. The challenge, he says, is to occupy that space.

But Naidoo cautions that building an organisation is not an easy task. "It has taken Cosatu more than 10 years to build up a membership of a million," he says.

"And while structures are in place, they are still not functioning as effectively as they should," Naidoo adds.

At this stage, the most concrete link between the ANC and the mass constituency is through the alliance with Cosatu, by far the most organised formation of the democratic movement.

But there is little evidence that the alliance, formally constituted early this year, is functioning effectively enough.

While the need for preparedness currently focusses on the ANC, mainly because of the size of its constituency, there are a number of other players in the political arena that are equally unprepared.

The National Party [NP], which has a tested structure in place, only commands the support of a minority. Its real challenge is broadening the support base if it expects to wield the same clout that it has from its power base as the government.

Similarly, Inkatha, which has a comprehensive national network of branches, has been losing support and surveys indicate that its only significant base of support resides in rural Natal. And even there, this support is increasingly being challenged by the ANC.

The acid test for Inkatha therefore is broadening its profile to that of a national political movement, a test it will not find easy to pass.

Equally questionable are the structures of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization]. Once again, a recent survey puts PAC support at only 10 percent while the organisation's leader commands only barely two percent.

* AZAPO Position

91AF0058B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION in English 6 Sep 90 p 7

[Article: "What About the Opposing Side?"]

[Text] The question of the preparedness of organisations has become of principal importance to those organisations seeking a negotiated settlement. The question however applies also to those opposed to negotiations.

Whether or not there is ultimately a negotiated settlement is a matter that will be determined by the balance of forces between those seeking a negotiated settlement and those opposed to it.

It would be a fundamental error for those who are opposed to negotiations to believe that they do not require the same state of organisational preparedness required of the negotiating parties.

The other question that arises is whether those opposed to a negotiated settlement do so from a tactical, strategic consideration or from a position of principle.

According to an Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] spokesperson, Azapo is not opposed to negotiations but they cannot endorse negotiations in the present political reality and the depoliticised state of the masses.

"I am in favour of negotiations, but we have to look at the stage, what we negotiate as well as the forum of negotiations," explained Takatso Mofokeng of Azapo.

The political reality of the country is that there are many apartheid laws that must be repealed before negotiations are engaged in.

Mofokeng said that the oppressed people of South Africa have no call to negotiate the apartheid laws because these can simply be repealed by the National Party [NP] through its majority in parliament.

He said: "Ours is to negotiate a new constitution when the National Party has returned the country to 1948."

Another obstacle to negotiation is the balance of power. He said the balance is tilted in favour of "the governing force" to such an extent that "the oppressed" cannot negotiate to their benefit. He cited the power to indemnify or to withdraw indemnity as an example of the power the government exercises.

The essential situation is that negotiations must take place under the eye of a transitional government.

The best course of action at present is to intensify the mass action and sanctions until there has been a shift in the balance of power and the issue has become the creation of a forum for drafting a new constitution.

He said mass action can help articulate the constitutional demands of the majority, and in the fashion of Eastern Europe, gain international recognition as a legitimate struggle.

There cannot be meaningful negotiations when there is not the appropriate forum of mandated people. He rejected de Klerk's thinking that there are people with a proven constituency. He ruled out the involvement of homeland leaders on the basis that people who engage in negotiations must be people elected on the ticket of constitutional negotiations.

Finally there is the consideration of the preparedness of political organisations to negotiate a new constitution.

Mofokeng also pointed out that he did not think that political organisations, with the possible exception of the ANC [African National Congress], were ready to engage in negotiations.

He cited the recent state of emergency and the P. W. Botha government as having effected a systematic depoliticisation of the masses.

This was especially important in view of the fact that the people have to elect representatives for a constituent assembly that would have to deal with constitutional matters.

"I do not see how we can think about negotiations so soon after the state of emergency. Our people need to learn constitutional matters," he said.

He also pointed out that de Klerk has within the present constitution a mechanism to create a transitional government. Just as Botha had the power to bring in people who were not elected, de Klerk can create a governing body to run the country during the negotiating process.

* 'Renamo' Element Feared in Escalating Violence

* Guerrilla Handbook Cited

91AF0082A Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS
in English 22 Sep 90 p 19

[Article by Frans Esterhuyse. First paragraph is WEEKEND ARGUS introduction]

[Text] Brutal attacks on innocent people aboard a moving train, as demonstrated so tragically on the Reef recently, strike fear into the hearts of commuters and shock the public. But in a published handbook for urban guerrillas, this is recommended practice and public transport systems are pin-pointed as a starting-point for destabilising a population, says a Pretoria political specialist.

In the absence of substantiating evidence, the government and its security advisers at first largely dismissed claims of a sinister "third force" behind some of the country's latest violence.

But there are people who believe this is a matter calling for intense and urgent investigation—even if only to establish beyond any doubt that the country is free from the kind of shadowy forces that have caused havoc elsewhere. The argument is that failure to do so could be disastrous if such forces actually do exist and are not removed at an early stage.

The message may be getting through for this week the Cabinet, without saying so openly, appeared to provide some scope for a wide-ranging independent probe. The Cabinet announced a high-level independent investigation into any "abuse of power" and special speedy investigative units to probe incidents of violence.

Whether this will be enough to come to grips with an elusive problem remains to be seen.

The issue was raised by ANC [African National Congress] deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela who described the Reef violence as "an extension of South Africa's backing of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]."

He told a recent mini-summit of the Organisation of African Unity in Kampala that the tactic used was one that had disrupted Mozambique's infrastructure.

Mr Mandela discussed the "third force" issue with President de Klerk last week. The outcome was that Mr Mandela at first understood Mr de Klerk to concede there was such a force fuelling the conflict. But subsequently the government denied this by saying there had been a misunderstanding.

Whatever the position the fears of Mr Mandela and others clearly arise from decades of "dirty tricks" by the police and defence force in the townships and elsewhere and the calculated destabilisation of neighbouring states.

Mr Mandela is not alone in his suspicions about sinister aspects of the latest violence. There are others, including

South African political analysts and Western diplomats, who have recognised certain trends.

Among those who see danger signals is Pretoria political consultant Dr Jan du Plessis, who has often spoken in SABC-TV [South African Broadcasting Corporation-Television] news programmes on issues like terrorism and communism.

Most ominous to him is the series of mindless, indiscriminate killings on commuter trains, at railway stations, bus stops, taxi ranks and even from vehicles in crowded streets. Having made a special study of terrorism, he detects the workings of a trained mind behind these ruthless attacks—"textbook terrorism in a refined form," he says of the Reef attacks.

Significant clues for Dr du Plessis include the places chosen for these attacks and the methods used.

He suggests the very fact that the killers consistently go for users of public transport show there is more behind the killings than meets the eye.

The killers, says Dr du Plessis, choose to strike in the most cold-blooded and brutal manner to create terror and at the same time to attract maximum public and media attention to their deeds.

This, according to Dr du Plessis, is a typical pattern in terrorist attacks aimed at intimidating whole populations and ultimately at paralysing society into a state of continuing fear and inaction. Such attacks by small, trained groups are usually orchestrated by a force behind the scenes. The motive may be to prepare the way for seizing power, but here Dr du Plessis emphasises such moves could come from the left or the right of the political spectrum—or even from elsewhere.

His warning is that until evidence emerges as to who is behind such attacks, people and groups should refrain from pointing fingers at one another. This could be dangerous in that it would fuel disputes and tensions in society and thereby play into the hands of any manipulators behind the scenes who want to destabilise society.

Dr du Plessis bases his opinion on international writings and studies, some of which are now banned in South Africa.

One source of information which he regards as important for understanding what goes on in the mind of the terrorist is a book entitled *Mini-manual of the urban guerilla*, by Carlos Marighella, a South American. This book has been banned in South Africa since 1977 and is still on the banned list.

Dr du Plessis says it shows that indiscriminate terrorist killings—like those on the Reef—are not necessarily aimed directly at the political system or at the police, but at the population.

"What they want to do is to get the population out of the way, to push them aside, to paralyse them with fear so that they don't get in the way of future moves."

This kind of terrorist is not interested in discussion or stability. His only interest is power. He knows the dilemma of the authorities in hunting him is that the measures and action needed cause upheaval in the communities concerned. Such people operated in Algeria at the height of that country's crisis and eventually whole neighbourhoods were virtually under military siege in the hunt to track them down.

Where do such attacks begin? Marighella's advice to terrorists, according to Dr du Plessis, is to launch their attacks on public transport systems.

From Dr du Plessis's information it seems clear that such attacks—whatever the motives and whoever is behind them—have backing from people or forces believing they are strong and clever enough to challenge the might of a powerful state security establishment.

This is one possibility, although there are many others, right down to that of psychopaths or criminals operating on their own for "kicks."

However some observers believe that while there is no evidence to identify a "third force" behind the Reef attacks, it would still be unwise to rule out the possibility of a Renamo-type organisation in the background.

The immense human suffering and devastation caused by Renamo—previously backed by the South African government and elements of its security establishment—has left Renamo with the image of one of the cruellest and most sinister forces in Southern Africa.

The question is frequently asked—are the South Africans who were involved still around? What are they doing now?

A recent United States government report on global terrorism says Renamo, throughout its 15-year insurgency, has continued to direct terrorist attacks against the population of Mozambique. The insurgents frequently attack "soft targets" such as villages, schools, factories and relief convoys, with civilians killed daily, while others are deliberately mutilated or pressed into service as porters. There have been several large-scale massacres of civilians, and according to a U.S. government publication over 100,000 civilians are estimated to have been killed in 1986-88.

The Mozambican civil war is reported to have claimed 500,000 lives since it began in the mid-1970s. According to South African statistics, more than a million people have been displaced inside Mozambique and 750,000 refugees have fled to neighbouring countries.

With such a catastrophe unfolding on our doorstep, who can ignore even the vaguest signs or fears that its shadow may be moving over in our direction?

The U.S. report on global terrorism notes that the SA [Republic of South Africa] government states it no longer supports the Renamo insurgency. However the report says "some private entities within the country may be providing some assistance" and Mozambique has asked that Pretoria do more to halt this aid.

* Increasing Destabilization

91AF0082B Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English
16 Sep 90 pp 1-2

[Article by Colleen Ryan. First paragraph is SUNDAY STAR introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Perhaps it was inevitable that anarchy would eventually threaten South Africa, the country so often accused of destabilising its neighbours, writes Colleen Ryan.

Blood is dripping from the hands of vigilante killer squads who are bent on creating chaos and terror. People are afraid as they lie in their beds at night. They are afraid as they travel on public transport. They are afraid as they walk in the streets.

Five years ago this was the horror of Mozambique—the Lebanon of southern Africa.

Three years ago this terror became a way of life in parts of Natal. Now, in 1990, this same smell of fear hangs over Johannesburg and scores of Reef townships.

Are we witnessing the spread of the anarchy that has devastated South Africa's north-eastern neighbour? Is it absurd to suggest that Zulu warlords who owe their allegiance to Inkatha are setting up Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]-type bands of killers?

The killing of innocent civilians is cold-blooded murder in any language, and in that respect there is no difference in what is taking place in South Africa and Mozambique—and for that matter, in scores of other countries around the globe.

It is risky to make historical comparisons and many features of the Mozambican situation are unlike those in South Africa.

In spite of obvious differences, the fortunes and histories of the countries of Southern Africa are intertwined.

Involvement in Running Renamo

The first thread which links us to Mozambique's tragedy is South Africa's own involvement in running Renamo. Rhodesian-sponsored destabilisation of Mozambique began in 1975 and was taken over by South Africa five years later.

Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed in the Mozambique conflict, generations of children have been brutalised and the country has experienced complete economic collapse.

While the people of Mozambique and the one-party Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government must accept their share of the blame for what has befallen their country, the support the South African Government provided Renamo makes South Africa a very guilty party.

In an ominously prophetic article, written shortly before President de Klerk's watershed February speech, Carlos Cardoso, director of Mozambique's news agency Aim [Mozambique Information Agency], warned that the disintegration he had witnessed at home appeared to be spreading to South Africa.

Long before anyone dreamt that the nightmarish violence in Natal might spread to the Transvaal, Cardoso wrote in Idasa's [Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa] Democracy in Action journal: "The clashes in Natal already have some of the characteristics of Renamo's type of systematic terrorism: the cutting off of ears and limbs, vigilante, Inkatha and Ama-Africa groups, coming to your homes and killing indiscriminately."

The factors which led to the war in Mozambique are extremely complex, and the circumstances which now threaten to plunge South Africa into a civil war are equally difficult to understand and explain.

But another thread which connects the conflicts is that in both cases the violence suits South African elements opposed to the challenge to white supremacy.

Protect White Interests at Home

Thus, South Africa's rationale for backing Renamo was ultimately to protect white interests at home. A weak Mozambique was in no position to allow the ANC [African National Congress] to establish a major military presence.

Who in South Africa stands to gain from the current wave of violence? It has been argued that Inkatha is trying to stake its claim as a major political force. The Natal conflict began in earnest in 1987, when Inkatha launched a recruitment drive in the Maritzburg area. When Mr de Klerk began his negotiation initiative earlier this year the Zulu movement had far from conquered the UDF-ANC [United Democratic Front-African National Congress] alliance in Natal and had little following on a national basis.

Said one analyst: "Inkatha had no option but to begin recruitment elsewhere. Its natural target was the hostels on the Reef and this is where the violence began."

It is too simplistic to blame Inkatha for all the current troubles. The threats which the ANC made against KwaZulu and Inkatha cannot be ignored, such as when the movement declared homeland structures to be legitimate targets of attack.

And critics say the ANC's refusal to allow deputy president Nelson Mandela to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in an attempt to make peace is fuelling the current conflict.

But while the ANC is not blameless, it has nevertheless committed itself to negotiation and stands to lose heavily if the violence cannot be brought under control.

Jan van Eck, Democratic Party MP [Member of Parliament] for Claremont, and the party's spokesman on the security forces, said: "The main object of the current campaign is to destabilise the political situation and derail negotiations.

"If there is any victim in this spree of violence, apart from the people who have been killed and injured, it is the negotiation process. And of all the parties involved the ANC will lose most."

Mr van Eck said he strongly suspected that elements in the security forces, together with people drawn from right-wing groups, were encouraging the conflict.

Many eye-witnesses have corroborated this claim. In the attack on the Sebokeng hostel two weeks ago, for example, witnesses said that Inkatha Youth Brigades leader Themba Khoza was accompanied by four white men in balaclavas when the shooting spree began. Witnesses said Khoza was later seen talking to policemen before he was arrested for possessing AK-47 rifles.

While there are many in the security forces who carry out their duties diligently, it appears there are others who seek to gain from the current instability.

As Carlos Cardoso contended: "It is my belief that important sections of military intelligence and parallel structures of power in the SAP [South African Police] are doing in South Africa what they have done in Mozambique: financing and commanding a process of carnage which they propagate as 'black-on-black' violence. In South Africa, old unsolved contradictions in society are gaining a military dimension."

Many might not agree that one can draw parallels between the South African and Mozambique situations or compare Renamo to an Inkatha-like army.

David Welsh, professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town, said: "I am not sure Renamo is the appropriate analogy since it was created by Rhodesia. I would have thought other states in Southern Africa do offer possible parallels—for example Unita [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the war in Angola."

He said that unless the violence was crushed quickly there was a likelihood of protracted conflict.

Steven Collins, an Idasa staff member involved in the monitoring of the Natal conflict, said he did not believe one could liken Inkatha to Renamo.

"Although there has been an escalation in violence, Inkatha has not been totally isolated from the negotiation process. If the National Party [NP] had rejected the notion of dual membership or if in the future Inkatha is excluded from negotiations, then it might take the direction which Renamo has followed. But it is unlikely at this stage."

He believed the violence being unleashed by Inkatha supporters in the Transvaal was an attempt "to show big muscle at the negotiation table."

"A lot of this strategy is to say that there are not two forces, the NP and the ANC in South Africa, but a third force, Inkatha," he added. Inkatha itself has consistently denied that it is provoking the violence on the Reef and Chief Buthelezi insists the foundations for peace will be laid if Mr Mandela agrees to meet him.

Inkatha's detractors interpret Chief Buthelezi's demand for a meeting as a threat and point to the violence as evidence of the way Inkatha supporters aim to achieve political success.

At a recent Five Freedoms Forum seminar on violence held in Johannesburg, Inkatha members who took part hinted that the movement had the capacity to wage war in the same way as Renamo and Unita had done.

Mr van Eck, who attended the workshop, said he believed there was a likelihood a "third force," supported by elements in the security forces and right wing, would continue the current campaign of destabilisation.

The current turmoil shows no signs of abating and the road ahead looks very uncertain. It is clear that South Africa's complex political and social order cannot be compared with any of its neighbours, but that does not necessarily mean we are going to escape civil war.

Perhaps one important lesson we can draw from both Mozambique and Angola is that no matter how unpalatable those governments regarded Renamo and Unita, after long and bloody conflicts they have both concluded that they must make peace with their rebels.

Carlos Cardoso's appeal should serve as a warning to South Africa: "I have seen the professional destabilisers of your country turn mine into a sad and skinny hand stretched out to the ultimate form of domination, charity. Don't let them do the same to your country."

* Police Accused

91AF0082C Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Sep 90 pp 6-7

[First paragraph is introduction.]

[Text] Elements linked to apartheid's Special Forces are emerging as the hidden hand behind the Reef war. Township residents are now demanding that community-based police, accountable to residents—not white

police accountable to informal repressive networks—should be responsible for law and order in the violence-torn areas.

South Africa's Reef war is fast assuming characteristics of Mozambique's bandit war, where rape, plunder and indiscriminate murder have become almost daily occurrences in the last decade.

More and more, elements linked to apartheid's special Forces are emerging as the driving force in the war.

After all, these Special Forces engineered and directed the wars in Mozambique, Angola and Namibia through surrogate forces like Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance], Unita [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and Koevoet [Namibian police counterinsurgency unit].

Haunting accounts of white snipers perched on roof tops, balaclava-clad men in camouflage uniform crouched among hordes of vigilantes, armed whites parading as ambulance men and white faces painted black can no longer be brushed aside as simply part of someone's vivid imagination.

The precision and effectiveness with which some of the bloody missions have been executed can no longer be explained away as simply as expression of misdirected and uncontrollable anger.

Even the government now concedes that the culpability of a "third force" cannot be ruled out. More disturbing, though, is the location of this "third force" squarely within the ranks of those that are meant to supervise the policing of the townships and protection of its residents.

The question that has been repeated many times over presents itself more forcefully once again: can white police—among whom are elements of this third force—be relied upon to protect township residents?

Allegations Against White Policemen

Residents will undoubtedly answer in the negative, given their allegations of the involvement of white policemen in encouraging the conflict. These allegations have ranged from police ferrying guns and transporting vigilantes to police actually sniping at hostel residents attacked by vigilantes.

Allegations have also been made by black police that they are ordered out of areas where there is open collusion between their white superiors and vigilantes. Black policemen are also removed from the scene when arms are allegedly ferried to vigilantes. Reports have also suggested that white policemen have deliberately left their black counterparts behind when summoned to areas hit by violence.

There has also been a visible absence of senior black policemen in the war-ravaged townships. Senior township-based policemen are rarely in command at township roadblocks.

And black policemen have been rare participants in meetings between the democratic movement and the government over the Reef war.

Where they have been deployed, black policemen have functioned as no more than subordinates taking orders from those who are accountable only to their (white) superiors, who in turn may well form part of the informal repressive machinery.

The ANC [African National Congress] says it has received a number of complaints from black policemen about the handling of the Reef war by their white counterparts. "These policemen are, however, afraid to voice their complaints openly, fearing that they would suffer the same fate as Lieutenant Gregory Rockman," an ANC spokesperson says. Rockman was fired from the SA [Republic of South Africa] Police for speaking out against the handling of unrest in the Western Cape by white policemen.

It is against this background that township communities are now demanding that community-based police must be given the authority to assume overall command in the enforcement of law and order in the conflict areas.

Police living in the townships have an express and personal interest in protecting lives and property in their respective areas, unlike their white counterparts who reside in areas remote from the sites of violence.

Besides having a subjective interest in ensuring the safety of townships they live in, black policemen are also open to the discipline of the community if they are seen to be contributing to violence and destabilisation.

In at least one instance in Soweto, black police joined residents in warding off an imminent attack from vigilantes after having participated in a community meeting to discuss the violence.

Informal Repressive Structures

In contrast, white policemen are subject only to the authority of their superiors, who could be part of the informal repressive structures of the state and whose interests are only in sustaining the war.

While agreeing on the need for community-based policemen to take charge of the townships, the ANC stresses the need for direct community involvement in policing the townships. "This is central to any effort aimed at monitoring police conduct," the ANC argues.

But, while shifting authority into the hands of community-based policemen may curb the involvement of elements from the Special Forces, it does not provide an overall solution to the attacks on township communities.

Workers from the communities have in recent weeks been the targets of highly-trained death squads, who have carried out their missions with terrifying precision in the centre of one of South Africa's most highly-developed cities.

The ANC says the indiscriminate killings, which have characterised the more recent attacks in the city centre, bear all the characteristics of a Renamo-style attack.

"The assailants carried out their mission and managed to retreat without a single casualty. They had not said a word for fear of being identified.

"This is significant, given the fact that, if the attackers were supporters of any organisation wishing to gain ascendancy through acts of violence, they would have made known their allegiances. This they did not do, and their identities remain unknown," the ANC spokesperson says.

"All evidence also shows that the assailants were professional and highly trained in the art of urban guerilla warfare," he adds.

It is a known fact that the Special Forces have had up to 5,000 men in five recce regiments trained in the art of regional destabilisation. Could it have been one of its units deployed on the Reef that wreaked havoc on the Soweto-bound train last week?

South Africa's Special Forces have a daunting track record when it comes to managing political destabilisation.

In fact, Renamo, the Mozambican bandit movement, is said to have been the responsibility of Five Recce, which is composed of 750 people, 500 of whom were black.

Many Mozambicans and disaffected Zimbabweans from Abel Muzorewa's personal guard were said to be part of this unit. But Five Recce is not the only Special Forces unit which was used in support of Renamo. There is also the 31 Battalion, similar to the 32-Buffer battalion of Angolans. Thirty-one battalion has a large contingent of Zulu-speaking soldiers.

Given the level of destabilisation achieved, especially in Mozambique, it is evident that South Africans are highly skilled at fanning conflict, primarily for the purpose of destabilisation and giving credibility to fringe political movements.

Perhaps the best example can be found in the Mozambican National Resistance movement (MNR), also known as Renamo.

Instructed to Fabricate Stories

South African intelligence agent Gordon Winter wrote in this book, "Inside Boss," about how he was instructed to fabricate stories, for media consumption, on the strength of the MNR.

"When I started glorifying its [MNR] exploits in July 1977, it existed in name only. The sabotage attacks it was supposed to have made inside Mozambique were secretly carried out by the South African army's Reconnaissance Commando."

Matching its ability to build organisation through media exploits was its skill in brushing off the blame for atrocities piled on its surrogate forces. Winter writes about Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] wasting little time in capitalising on the death of a child following a bomb attack by South African commandos.

Winter was promptly instructed to write a story saying: "This is typical (Frelimo) propaganda distortion to sway public emotions against us. The truth about the child is that it died of malnutrition in a nearby hospital that morning."

Suggestions that the special Forces may once again have taken charge of the Reef war takes on a sinister significance against the background of its previous exploits.

It is also against this background that the ANC makes its demand for South Africa's Special Forces to forthwith be confined to barracks, where their movement can be monitored independently, if the Reef war is to be contained.

Simply disbanding structures like the Civil Co-operation Bureau is not sufficient, because this makes its more difficult to monitor the activities of its operatives.

* Black Police View³

91AF0082D Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 21-27 Sep 90 p 7

[Text] The quickest and surest way of depoliticising the enforcement of law and order in the townships is to have a community-based police force that would be sensitive to the needs, fears and concerns of residents.

White police have little or no credibility left and township communities are wary about their continued presence and purpose in the townships.

"When they [white policemen] arrive there, they just shoot at people," says Warrant Officer Jeremia Dube (not his real name), who has served in the SA [Republic of South Africa] Police for over 12 years.

He would much prefer the townships to be left in the care of his township colleagues.

"There is that feeling of us wanting to defend our communities, but, as we have to take orders, sometimes from white policemen of ranks lower than ours, we find it difficult to do so."

Dube's sentiments will no doubt find widespread support among his colleagues, as well as within the community.

No Black Officers Visible

In a statement last week, the ANC [African National Congress] came out strongly against the fact that there were no visible black officers in the police force monitoring the violence. It identified this as one of the factors contributing to a lack of trust of police by the community.

Their inability to act decisively to curb general crime and political violence has demoralised township policemen, who find themselves torn between recognising authority and serving their communities.

Many black policemen claimed that there are white officers who keep 8-to-4 jobs and leave the townships ablaze.

Dube said that white policemen go to violence-torn areas alone and "mess up." "They come back and send black policemen to go and fetch the corpses," he added.

According to Dube, senior white policemen select only their white counterparts every time they go to troubled areas.

"I think all these troubles should be handled by black policemen, because a black policeman, whenever he finds black people fighting, will speak to them."

Black police are also made to man roadblocks on the fringes of the townships while white police wreak havoc inside.

Warrant Officer Mike Mlangeni (not his real name), based at the Protea police station, shares Dube's concerns.

He told NEW NATION that, if community-based police are left to control townships, there would be no "unnecessary shedding of blood."

He, however, pointed out that black policemen would still be subservient because of long years of domination.

Mlangeni attributed this to the lack of initiative among black policemen, who are suppressed by their white colleagues.

"They give the orders. Therefore, if policemen act wrongly, it is due to the orders given by whites, because you find that no black policeman gives orders to whites.

"These white policemen are of any rank, from constables to officers. You find that officers are only called when the situation is too bad. But, if you are a black man and you have a rank below the rank of an officer, any white policeman, whether a constable or sergeant or warrant officer, will give you orders, even if you are a black warrant officer.

"In fact, what I have seen is that a white policeman's word is law to a black man, even if what he says is not legal."

Constable George Mdluli (also not his real name) said that white policemen still regard themselves as superior.

He said although there are black policemen of higher rank, they had been brainwashed and this rendered them "ineffective."

"They are just working to secure their jobs and to go into retirement."

But this is not all that compromises the role of black policemen.

Bribery is also rife.

Dube concedes that "tshotsho," as bribes are known, is standard practice among black policemen.

"Those things tarnish our dignity and credibility. That makes other people say that we are poor."

But this is symptomatic of working conditions in the police force. Dube agrees, saying "the cause of this is poor salaries."

"You find that a person from the 10th [of each month] has no more money. How is he going to make it through the remaining 20 days without money?" he asked.

Bribery is, however, not limited to black police.

"There are many whites who are working here in Soweto who take more bribes than their black counterparts.

Dube said that this was not done because "there is more respect for white policemen than black policemen in the community, but only because they think if they give a white man more money there is a better favour."

The policemen interviewed by NEW NATION pointed out that, while there is parity at the level of wages and benefits, there is a considerable degree of racism in the force. The SAP [South African Police] still maintains separate training facilities.

According to Dube, whites are trained in Pretoria and blacks in Hammanskraal.

A police spokesperson, however, claimed that the infrastructure at a single college did not provide sufficient facilities for larger numbers of students.

Stick to Jobs to Survive

Dube further pointed out that, despite the differences in the police force, they had no alternative but to stick to their jobs to survive.

He said that 95 percent of black people in the police force had joined because of the lack of alternative employment.

"If you are hungry, you go to Murray and Roberts and stand at the gates. You find no employment. You go to OK [expansion unknown] and you find no employment. At last you end up joining the police force, because there is always a vacancy open."

This also explains the lack of motivation among black policemen—something that will have to be remedied urgently if they are to take charge of the townships.

In the immediate term, however, part of the problem can be addressed by concrete involvement of community structures in ensuring that policemen based in their areas are held accountable to residents.

Angola

Official Says Economic Privatization Likely*MB2510081590 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 25 Oct 90*

[Text] Fernando Heitor, national director of the Trade and Industry Ministry's Office for Development and Restructuring, announced in Luanda on 24 October that a number of state economic units in the trade and industry sector may be privatized or form joint ventures with other partners within the framework of restructuring the state's entrepreneurial sector.

Textang 2 [Angolan Textiles Enterprise], Metangol [Angolan Metal Company], and the Electrical Conductors Enterprise of Angola are already up for public buying. They may also join other partners.

Fernando Heitor also said that meetings with enterprise managers have been promoted for the implementation of the pilot program on entrepreneurial restructuring. Those meetings focused on issues connected with enterprise management and the economic, legal, and liquidity situation of individual enterprises.

This process essentially aims at increasing national production, thereby reducing imports. This will allow several trade and industry enterprises to be privatized or form joint ventures with other partners.

Labor Source Says Angolans Returning From GDR*MB2510104690 Luanda ANGOP in Portuguese
1900 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Luanda, 24 Oct (ANGOP)—A source in the Labor Ministry, Mintrab, has disclosed that Angolans who were working in the GDR are returning to the country without seeing their contracts out.

The source also reported that, of the 1,506 workers who were in the GDR, (?947) registered their names last August to return to the country [words indistinct] who are in Angola already and those who may arrive soon because of a lack of incidental information from the German side, the source explained. Those workers will be placed in enterprises doing specialized labor but not as technicians who have concluded their courses.

Man Reportedly Dies of Shock After Money Seizure*MB2310212290 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 1905 GMT 23 Oct 90*

[Text] Jamba, Tuesday, October 23 [Dateline as received] A resident of Kambulukutu suburb in the central Angolan City of Kuito in Bie Province has died after MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] bank officials confiscated over two million kwanzas (MPLA currency). The victim, identified as

44-year-old Lucas Jorge had taken three million old kwanzas currency to be exchanged for the new devalued banknotes.

Sources said he was only given 50,000 kwanzas while the remaining amount was confiscated by bank authorities. Circumstances in which the victim died have not been described but informed sources said that Mr. Jorge died of shock. A number of people still wishing to exchange money have been discouraged by theft practiced by officials of the state-run bank.

Paper Describes Conditions in Lubango91AF0080A Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English
23 Sep 90 p 7*

[Article by Tony Figueria: "Hope Is All Angola Has Left"]

[Text] High above Lubango, at the end of an enchanting range of mountains, the gigantic statue of Christ embraces a city fast fading into a turquoise haze of dust and smoke. Here and there, the first evening lights appear, as Lubango prepares itself for night.

Down below, Lubango municipal show organiser Horacio Reis opens the gates of the "feira," the month-long show of this southern Angolan frontier capital. "We hope to achieve peace soon. Angolans are weary, and tired of this war," he says. He hopes that the latest round of talks between the Angolan government and the rebel Unita [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement are indeed the light at the end of the tunnel.

A journalist of Portuguese descent, Reis revived the Lubango show in 1985, after it had been interrupted by the civil war. In the colonial days of Sa da Bandeira, the show had been a major attraction on the Angolan festival calendar. Reis hopes to return the event to its old popularity with an injection of Angolan flair. "Now that Namibia is independent, we can open up links with our neighbours. But first we must have peace, so we can open up links within our own country."

'Caught in Crossfire'

For most Angolans hope is the only thing they have left. "It keeps me going," says social worker Juliana Leonor da Silva, who runs the Otjio war orphanage a few kilometres outside Lubango. "I used to cry every day when I first got here," she remembers as she guides me around the old convent housing the 239 orphans.

"Many orphans lost their parents in the war, others were caught in the crossfire, or are victims of mines." She points to a young girl in a wheelchair. "Bernarda was shot in the back. She's 13." We move towards the courtyard, where a group of 6-year-olds sing "Ring-a-ring-a-rosies," under the watchful guidance of a teacher.

"We have 72 social workers, who vacillate between the roles of teacher, nurse, father, mother, adviser, playmate, and friend." She pauses, watching the children singing hand-in-hand. "Most times we just have to be everything," she continues. "Some of the kids take long to readjust, especially those who lose limbs. They need exceptional care and moral support. It's not easy."

According to Juliana, the biggest problem is transport. Sometimes the healthier children help the physically disabled ones by carrying them to the hospital which is kilometres away. There is a shortage of medicine, disinfectants, blankets, clothing, books, beds, tables and desks.

A Bleak Picture

The Lubango central hospital faces similar problems. I arrived at the main entrance of the hospital as a dead body covered in a soiled blanket was wheeled off on a stretcher by two unperturbed attendants. They guided the stretcher through a string of patients awaiting treatment, out the door, and up the road towards the mortuary. Moments later the stretcher returned empty, and the rickety sounds of uncoiled wheels mingled with the ringing of an unanswered telephone.

The doctor on duty is not in, and behind the reception counter the young man seems perplexed by our wishes to visit the hospital. Later Dr Jose van-Dunem, director of the Huila Health Department, shows me the hospital, as well as the rural municipal health posts, the pediatric hospital and the mental institution.

Dr van-Dunem paints a bleak picture. The infant mortality rate is one of the highest in Africa, while the average life expectancy is 45. The central hospital has only one ambulance, which, when operative, is used by doctors and patients. The pediatric hospital too has only one ambulance, of Soviet make, and for which no parts are available in Angola.

Despite the critical conditions, the Angolan medical authorities have initiated an awareness campaign in and around Lubango. People are urged to visit immunisation centres, wash in and drink only clean water, follow balanced diets, and avoid the spreading of AIDS.

To compound the problems, a 3-year drought has spread throughout southern Angola. Lubango, a city able to cope with a population of 50,000, has now almost 200,000. There is a water shortage in a city that once was considered the flower garden of Angola. At the State-run Grande Hotel da Huila, bath tubs are filled in the morning for the day's use, and the hotel is one of the few institutions graced with an own generator to replace the frequent power cuts. At night gunfire is heard, and dogs bark endlessly. Yet Lubango is still the peaceful city in Angola, and Namibian companies and businessmen are rapidly establishing links. Windhoek-based engineering company SWE exhibited at the Lubango show, while others explore trade possibilities encouraged by prospects of peace.

The Angolan government has promised to introduce a multiparty democracy in a future dispensation, which will include the rebel Unita movement led by Jonas Savimbi. Unita has welcomed Portuguese proposals for superpower participation in the next round of peace talks in Lisbon at the end of the month.

With an overstuffed civil service and a huge budget deficit running at an estimated \$1.7 billion, the Angolan government has approved austerity measures to help a battered economy seeped in black market trading.

Variety of Goods

In a maze of crowded tiny stalls, some constructed from home-made bricks of sunbaked mud and grass, vendors at the Lubango "parallel" market (black market) sell everything from your finest whisky to canned Dutch margarine, Swedish donated corned beef and TDK recording cassettes. Chickens are carried upside down on the handlebars of bicycles and motorbikes, slung over shoulders or dragged by the wings to be sold at the market, along with subsistence farming products such as vegetables, fish, biscuits and an array of South African goods.

Stubborn goats are leashed like dogs, dragged to the market, or tied to the cross-bars of wobbly bicycles and taken home. In a mayhem of unsyncopated sounds, vendors try to outdo each other. Youngsters sell cigarettes for 2,000 kwanzas, or R6 [rands] on the black market. A tin of Coca-Cola or Windhoek beer costs as much. Some people earn 2,000 kwanzas a month. But 2,000 kwanzas also fills two tanks of a Hilux double-cab. Fuel in Lubango is cheap, and available, since it is brought in from the port of Namibe 200 km away. In contrast, Huambo, linked to the rest of Angola only by air, has a shortage of fuel, which is expensive when available.

Still, for some, there is no place like Angola. Sandra Figueira will not swap Lubango for Rio de Janeiro or Lisbon. "This is where I was born, and there is no country like Angola," she says, looking down at Lubango from the statue of Christ, the Christo Rei. "All my friends live here."

A Way of Life

For Sandra the war has become a way of life. She remembers when the South African Defence Force jets bombed Madeiras da Hula, a furniture factory. "I was at school, and the desks shook. It felt like an earthquake. Many people were killed, many shop windows in town shattered, and there was pandemonium everywhere. The South Africans later claimed they had mistook the factory for a Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] base."

Apart from their internal conflict, Angolan forces have had to ward off attacks from the SADF [South African Defence Forces], which in the past attacked Swapo bases and followed guerrillas seeking refuge in Angola.

It would be very difficult to calculate the devastation caused by the war. Tens of thousands of Angolans have died, property lost, families torn apart, cities destroyed, and people have been forced to humiliating conditions which, with time, they have come to accept. The effects of the 15-year civil war are clear. The country has returned to the same sort of barter economy the Portuguese found centuries ago. Since so many roads are cut, and so few airplanes fly, communication with the interior is hardly better than it was before colonialism.

Angolans are strong in their hope. "It's really all we have," says Sandra as she watches more Lubango lights emerge from the even haze. Her eyes seem to radiate with hope.

Lesotho

Lekhanya Addresses Assembly on UN, London Visit
MB2410183190 Maseru Domestic Service in English
1600 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The chairman of the Military Council and Council of Ministers, His Excellency Major General Metsing Lekhanya, this morning briefed the National Constituent Assembly about his tour to New York, Washington, and London. He said since the 44th session of the UN General Assembly last year, important and positive changes have taken place in the world, the impact of which will be felt in all countries large and small.

Maj. Gen. Lekhanya said the world has witnessed an unambiguous emergence of the new world political order based on partnership and collective endeavor that seeks to build a new and better future for mankind. He said whilst in the United Nations, he had an opportunity to confer with the secretary general of the UN, His Excellency Mr. Perez Javier de Cuellar, and added that, in view of Lesotho's difficult geopolitical situation, they both saw the need to continue the mission in Lesotho of the UN political observer.

Maj. Gen. Lekhanya disclosed that, on his way back, he flew to London to pay a visit on his majesty, King Moshoeshoe II, and said he was pleased to inform the assembly that he and his majesty held warm and constructive discussions, and that arrangements are under way for the king's return to Lesotho.

Madagascar

* Death, Injuries Reported in Tribal Conflict

91AF0072A Antananarivo LE MILITANT MAGAZINE
in French 22-23 Sep 90 p 62

[Unsigned Article: "Tribal Warfare"]

[Text] A few days before the opening of the recent Island Games, Madagascar reportedly had a tribal war. The Antefasy and the Zafisoro apparently confronted each

other for four days. It seems that a dispute over property rights is at the origin of these confrontations.

Reporting the bloody combats taking place in TEMOIGNAGES, Francis Rasoamaharo, the Malgasy journalist, cited Jorlin Ralantonirina, the deputy, as stating that the two sides had 11 deaths as a result of these confrontations. Deputy Ralantonirina belongs to the Zafisoro tribe. On the other hand, according to Celestin Rainizanadahy, king of the Antefazy tribe, there were 40 deaths and 131 huts were destroyed by fire.

Still, according to the Malgasy journalist, the number of victims might have been greater without the intervention of the army on Sunday 26 August. That is the day when about 3,000 Zafisoro warriors and 2,000 Antefasy men were on the point of engaging in a pitched battle. Calm has since been restored, although the situation remains confused.

There have been dissensions between these two tribes since 1957, always over property rights. Thus, from time to time, the dispute rises to the surface, above all as a result of the economic and social difficulties that the Great Island is experiencing. Thus, some estimate that the decline in coffee production by at least 50 percent in the Farafangana region (in southwestern Madagascar where the two tribes live) as a result of the cyclone Alibera, and the drought affecting that region, may have caused a wave of discontent on both sides.

The Malgasy journalist also states that reconciliation negotiations between the two tribes are under way in Farafangana.

Mauritius

* Lutchmeenaraidoo 'Considers' Forming Party

91AF0070B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
24 Sep 90 p 4

[Article by Jacques David; first two paragraphs are LE MAURICIEN introduction; quotation marks as published]

[Text] According to well-informed sources, the former finance minister, Mr. Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo, is planning to form a "Liberal Party" following the break up of the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement] of which he was a member. We report this news with the usual reservations as the decision has yet to be finalized by the former minister's entourage. The former minister hopes to attract some of "the best minds in the country" and believes in free-market economics (a theme he took up again in his interview yesterday in WEEK-END), but it must give "room to social considerations." Several days from now Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo plans to present in detail the economic and political philosophy of the new political party, some of whose rank-and-file recruits have come from the MSM.

Moreover, at his conference yesterday at Eden College in Rose-Hill, Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo launched his campaign to rethink the economy and development. He reminded listeners that at the time of his expulsion from the government by Sir Anerood Jugnauth, he left behind foreign currency reserves of about 10 billion rupees, which will climb to 11.5 billion rupees next year. He stated once again that there is no economic crisis and that if there was to be one, it would be the handiwork of the "infernal duo of Jugnauth/Berenger."

Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo resumed the argument that the country continues to enjoy a favorable economic state, emphasizing the fact that Mauritius has some 10 billion rupees in the form of reserves at the Bank of Mauritius, which will grow to 11.5 billion rupees between now and June of next year. He nonetheless drew the attention of his listeners to the fact that the prime minister's recent decision to raise the price of a gallon of gasoline by 15 rupees will have inevitable repercussions on other sectors such as bread bakeries and shops, transportation, electricity, and others and will cause inflation to climb by four percent by the beginning of next year.

The former finance minister paid tribute to the workers of the country who with their "sweat" managed to rise to the challenge posed by the threat of economic stagnation that faced the country at the beginning of 1983. He said he fears that all these years of effort will be reduced to nothing by political crises: "The situation is not similar to the Berenger/Jugnauth tandem." He indicated however that if the government would allow matters to move in the right direction, per capita income would top \$5,000 in several years.

Mr. Lutchmeenaraidoo, Mr. Dinesh Ramjuttun and Mr. Xavier Duval along with Mrs. D. Adinaden and Jadoo, Mrs. Ramdanee and Paraduth focused on the political crisis and the agreement between the MSM and the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] signed on 19 July, which resulted in the MMM's recent entry into the government. They emphasized that the "MMM has entered the Hall of Government by the back door. The various speakers' primary targets were the MMM's secretary general, Mr. Paul Berenger, and the prime minister, Sir Anerood Jugnauth.

Mozambique

Botswana's Masire Leaves Tete for Beira City

MB2410193190 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Visiting Botswana President Quett Masire today visited Tete Province and he has already left for Beira City. Before leaving Tete City, President Masire addressed the people at Chingozzi Airport.

Botswana President Quett Masire, who is also chairman of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC], said: It is our hope that your

government will achieve peace now that it is actively engaged in talks with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance]. The distinguished visitor said this at the end of his visit to the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric complex in Songo town, where Tete Governor Cadmiel Muthemba hosted a reception in his honor.

While bidding farewell to the people in Tete Province, President Quett Masire said that he was very impressed with the high morale of the people who, despite facing many difficulties caused by war, have not despaired. The SADCC Chairman said: It is my hope that your government will continue to combine efforts so that the ongoing economic rehabilitation progress will be crowned with success.

Quett Masire said:

[Begin Masire recording in English with subsequent Portuguese translation] We would like to see you improve your welfare, improve yourselves economically and socially. We would also like to see you till the land, see your children go to school, see you as people get into economically rewarding activities of life. I am very much heartened to find the people so happy. When we hear the news of war in Mozambique, we become very sad because we are sorry for you. We think you are very down-spirited. We are very encouraged to find that your spirit is high, the morale is high. [end recording]

President Quett Masire arrived at Beira International Airport at about 1730, accompanied by Mozambican Transport and Communications Armando Emilio Guebuza. He was welcomed by Sofala Governor Francisco Masquil, other party and government officials in the province and Beira City in particular, as well as Beira residents. [passage omitted]

'Armed Bandits' Murder 120 Civilians in Gaza

MB2410152290 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1400 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] A source from the Mozambique Armed Forces General Staff has revealed that 120 civilians were barbarously murdered by the armed bandits in the village communes of Chimonzo, Chissano, Lissiri, and Bilene-Macia, in Gaza Province, between 2 and 16 October. The armed bandits also burned two shops and two fuel stations, looted goods, and kidnapped a number of civilians.

Namibia

'Controversial' General Appointed Army Commander

MB2310205390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1934 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Windhoek Oct 23 SAPA—Major-General Solomon Hawala, a controversial figure in Namibian politics, has been appointed army commander of the Namibian Defence Force with immediate effect,

according to Namibian Defence Ministry sources. Namibia's National Patriotic Front [NPF] has strongly opposed Gen Hawala's appointment in a statement released in Windhoek.

NPF opposition follows controversy surrounding General Hawala, after the Namibian Supreme Court ordered him to produce five SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization]-held detainees during the lead-up to the Namibian independence elections last year.

"The NPF strongly feels that it is inopportune for Mr Hawala to assume or be appointed to a high public office until his name is cleared.

"This development in the infancy of our nation, therefore, casts a dark cloud on the future of our country and its people and almost erases all the emotions attached to the philosophy of national reconciliation," the NPF stated.

Opposition Critical

*MB2410094490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0904 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Windhoek Oct 24 SAPA—Namibian opposition political groups have sharply criticised the appointment of the former SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] security commander, Maj.-Gen. Solomon Hawala, as army commander of the new Namibian defence force.

"The announcement by the Ministry of Defence (on Tuesday [23 Oct]) that Maj.-Gen. Solomon Hawala has been appointed with immediate effect in this very sensitive position is surely not in the best interest of Namibia nor is it in the spirit of the government's professed policy of reconciliation," the opposition Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] said in a statement issued in Windhoek.

The DTA said Gen. Hawala had allegedly been implicated in the detention of SWAPO members in camps in Angola on charges of spying for South Africa before independence. It said the appointment placed a serious question mark on the activities of an inter-parliamentary commission into the detainee issue proposed by Prime Minister Hage Geingob.

The DTA reminded the governing party, SWAPO, that almost every family in Namibia had been touched in some way by the war and "that the wounds on both sides are still fresh".

Meanwhile, the National Society for Human Rights (NSHR) has also condemned the move in an equally strongly worded statement. "Mr. Hawala is well known to the whole world because of his supervision over the notorious SWAPO security service," the NSHR statement said.

"The NSHR calls on the international community, including donor nations and foreign diplomats in Namibia, to take serious note of this irresponsible and insensitive (move) and determine whether it is worthwhile to finance a government which is neither committed to (the) principle of democracy nor human rights and freedoms." The NSHR is lobbying for the release of alleged SWAPO held detainees who have not been accounted for.

Last year an United Nations-sponsored investigation into missing detainees in Angola and Zambia revealed 315 people whose status could not be traced and required further investigation. SWAPO has stated repeatedly it has released all detainees.

An editorial in the ruling party's newspaper, NAMIBIA TODAY, has questioned what it described as double standards being applied in the appointment of Gen. Hawala, while former members of South African-led security forces were employed by the new government. The editorial also reminded those opposing the general's appointment of his constitutional rights.

The National Party [NP] said in a statement released in Windhoek it learned of the appointment through news reports and shared the opposition parties' concern on the matter. "Since this is such an emotional issue, I trust that the government will soon be able to give reassurances for its action and also for the sake of Mr. Hawala personally," NP leader Kosie Pretorius said. "It is in the interests of our country and its people that there should be no suspicions."

"This is a trial by the media and you cannot punish the man by denying him a job on that basis," a SWAPO functionary told the Windhoek english daily, THE NAMIBIAN.

Government Responds

*MB2410175290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1717 GMT 24 Oct 90*

[Text] Windhoek Oct 24 SAPA—The Namibian Government is unable to understand the "selective morality" over the appointment of former SWAPO [Southwest African People's Organization] PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] security commander, Major-General Solomon Hawala, to the post of army commander, Namibian Information Minister Hidipo Hamutenya said in Windhoek.

He told a media briefing on Wednesday that a specific provision had been added to United Nations Resolution 435 (for Namibian independence) that no retroactive action would be taken to punish anybody for certain actions prior to the implementation of the resolution.

Gen Hawala has been accused by opponents of SWAPO of supervising or ordering the mistreatment of detainees held by SWAPO during the bush war. "Since we were expecting SWAPO to win, people feared that there would be repressions against those who worked so hard to

arrest, detain, torture, imprison in exile members of SWAPO," Mr Hamutenya told reporters.

"So they plugged in the clause that no action (would be taken), nobody would be punished or mistreated for anything, real or alleged, done before the implementation of 435," the minister said. With that in mind the government had not dismissed any single person on the grounds of alleged misconduct or mistreatment of others, he said with reference to former members of the South African-led security forces still in Namibia.

"So since we have not done that, we are unable to understand this selective morality about Hawala," Mr Hamutenya said. "So whatever is real or alleged about Hawala, he is no different from the kind of treatment meted out for others who are accused of the same crimes," he added.

SA, DTA Discuss Aid for Disbanding Koevoet

MB2310133590 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] The chairman of the main opposition party in Namibia, Mr. Dirk Mudge, says he is now properly informed about the 14.5 million dollars South Africa has pledged to the disbanding of counterinsurgency units of the security forces called Koevoet, [Police Counterinsurgency Unit] and the former South-West Africa Territory Force members, after his meeting with the South African Government last week.

Mr. Mudge of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said the matter had not been clarified by the Namibian Government, and that was why he had held talks with the South African Government. He said he still feared that former members of the territory force and Koevoet, might be discriminated against in the distribution of the money, since the number of former members of SWAPO's [South-West African Peoples Organization] military wing PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] who might qualify was not known.

Zambia

SA Government Greets Kaunda on National Day

MB2410202490 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1910 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The South African [SA] government today sent President Kenneth Kaunda a telegram of congratulations on Zambia's independence anniversary, for the first time in 26 years.

Reports say the [word indistinct], marking the changing diplomatic scene in southern Africa, as the only remarkable event in a day of low-key celebrations, reflecting the country's economic problems and apathy towards the ruling United National Independence Party, UNIP.

Sources in Lusaka say the opening of a South African trade mission may be imminent, with Zambia establishing a similar legation in Johannesburg, in contradiction of its long campaign to isolate Pretoria economically and diplomatically.

Official Cautions Against 'Confrontation' Politics

MB2510081990 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] Kitwe Senior Governor (Moses Malambo) has cautioned Zambians not to engage in politics of confrontation when the nation enters the third republic of plural politics.

Speaking at a colorful ceremony to mark Zambia's 26th independence anniversary at [word indistinct] today, Comrade (Malambo) said Zambians must adopt a spirit of reconciliation and consolidate their hard won independence by [word indistinct] to live together as one people. Comrade (Malambo) urged Zambians to remember the violence experienced during the multi-party days and said that the nation must not allow herself to go through (?those) terrible days again.

*** Multiparty Supporters Launch Offensive Campaign**

*** Referendum Rules Violated**

91AF0075A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 4 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Chairman of the legal sub-committee of the multi-party movement Mr Levi Mwanawasa has appealed to the Inspector General of police Mr Zunga Siakalima to arrest Party Secretary-General Comrade Grey Zulu and Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke for violating the referendum regulations.

In a letter dated 3 September to the police chief copied to the Director of Public Prosecutions Mr Gregory Phiri and the Press, Mr Mwanawasa complained that the two leaders had contravened regulations 63(5) (A) and (B) of the referendum regulations, thereby violating the rights of the workers and their unions, members of Parliament and other citizens.

Mr Mwanawasa said between 23 and 27 August, articles appeared in the Press in which Cde Zulu accused the ZCTU [Zambia Congress of Trade Unions] of using workers' funds to support the re-introduction of multi-partyism warning that the State might consider cancelling the check-off system through which employers deduct union subscriptions.

The letter says Prime Minister Masheke also told a public meeting that the ZCTU could lose the check-off system.

"We realise the task being requested of you to perform is not easy in that it involves the arrest and prosecution of the second and third highest ranking officials in the land.

"But you will note that the offences alleged against these officials arise in the middle of a referendum debate called to decide the destiny of this country and relate to a law which these officials helped to make in order to provide for a free and fair exchange of views," Mr Mwanawasa says.

In the letter handed over to Mr Siakajima yesterday, Mr Mwanawasa said it was obvious the conduct of Cde Zulu and Cde Masheke was aimed at violating the rights of the workers and their unions.

"I have no doubt in your ability to enforce the law without discrimination and trust that you will cause an early arrest and bring the suspects before a court of law with all the due dispatch which this complaint deserves."

Part of the specified regulation reads: "Any person who directly or indirectly, himself or by any other person—makes use of, or threatens to make use of, any force, violence or restraint upon any other person or does threaten to do anything to the disadvantage of the person is guilty of an offence."

* New Multiparty Journal

91AF0075B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
10 Sep 90 p 1

[Excerpt] UNIP [United National Independence Party] delegates to the forthcoming 25th National Council have been urged to redeem themselves by adopting a resolution that would democratise the political system.

Veteran freedom fighter and trader Mr Simon Zukas made the call on Saturday when he addressed the second rally of the interim committee for multi-party democracy held at the Pope's Square in Lusaka.

"We appeal to the people going to the National Council to redeem themselves because the one-party system has been given a chance for a long time but the economy is still bad."

Zambia badly needed quick economic reconstruction and everybody had realised the need for change.

Unza [University of Zambia] student Mr Edward Sefuke Chileshe denied students at the campus were last June incited to protest against the increase in the price of mealie meal.

Even in a multi-party system, students would not hesitate to take to the streets if anything went wrong.

He implored the Government to consider the reformation of the University of Zambia Students Union.

At the rally, the movement officially launched its journal, MULTI-PARTY NEWS, which sold at K5 [kwacha] a copy.

In the journal's comment, editor Mr Vernon Mwaanga who is in charge of public relations and publicity says the

journal was introduced to project some speeches by the committee members which had been censored by the national media.

Meanwhile, the Party and its Government has been urged to cancel or amend laws which discriminate against women to ensure progress.

This is one of the resolutions passed at the just ended three-day Zambia Union for Financial and Allied Workers women activists seminar held at Kitwe's Hotel Edinburgh.

"We urge the Party and its Government to cancel or amend laws that discriminate against women as these laws retard women's progress.

"We are also appealing to members of Parliament to support this move," says one resolution.

On the political front, the women reiterated their support for ZCTU to back the re-introduction of the multi-party system in Zambia. [passage omitted]

* Coercion, Threats Deplored

91AF0075C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
3 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The issue at hand is simple and straight forward: A referendum has been called and Zambians will have to decide on 13 August, next year whether they prefer multi-party politics.

The referendum commission was ostensibly set up to work out rules of the game to ensure a free and fair poll as well as an orderly political debate in the run-up to the referendum.

Most people have spoken highly of the Referendum Commission's regulations which are not only elaborate but quite fair to both parties.

However, what has transpired ever since the debate got underway clearly shows that a number of people, including those who are considered to be knowledgeable, are ignorant of what is expected of them.

There are far too many breaches on the Referendum Commission regulations and we are not convinced all those flouting the rules are doing so inadvertently.

Why, for instance, should any professional body or association consider it necessary to dictate to its members how they should vote in the forthcoming referendum?

The action taken by the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) on the current political debate is quite surprising indeed.

Lawyers are known to have independent minds. Their ability to comprehend the issue at hand cannot be doubted.

Surprisingly, their own association has cast doubt on the ability of individual lawyers to choose the type of political system they prefer.

Nobody, including the political leaders now barnstorming the countryside campaigning for the retention of the one-party system, has any mandate to dictate how the electorate should vote. That is the essence of the plebiscite which Zambians are anxiously looking forward to.

It is for this reason that we appeal to all interested parties to desist from campaign methods which amount to coercion. Assumptions that Zambians have already opted for either one-party or multi-party politics are misleading.

Ordinary Zambians are eagerly waiting for well-reasoned arguments on the merits or demerits of the political models they are expected to choose from.

It is disappointing to note that television viewers, radio listeners and newspaper readers have been inundated with boring, unconvincing propaganda from both sides.

Veiled threats, intimidation and other cheap tactics won't deceive the people. Sound, plausible arguments will be much more appealing and convincing.

* UNIP Record Said Poor

91AF0075D Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
3 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Vice-chairman of operations and organisation for the multi-party movement Mr Frederick Chiluba has said UNIP [United National Independence Party] as a party will remove itself from power because of the mistakes it has made.

Mr Chiluba who was speaking to a crowd of more than 7,000 people in Kalulushi's Kaunda Square said the multi-party movement was not after removing the present ruling party but interested in pointing out the disadvantages and mistakes of the one party system.

"If one thief in a group of his friends decides to break away and reveal the activities of his friends then you must expect the rest of the gang to start panicking and breaking away."

Mr Chiluba said allegations that under multi-party system of government there would be tribal fightings and killings were false because the peace which UNIP was boasting about was brought about by the people themselves.

"Peace and unity are meaningless to people unless they have food and clothing. Under one party system children are dying from malnutrition and those who are lucky to survive have no fixed future ahead of them," he said.

Earlier ZCTU [Zambia Congress of Trade Unions] secretary general Mr Newstead Zimba said under one party system people had been turned into robots and they were

only instructed to think that UNIP was the only party which could bring salvation.

He said the labour movement should not be intimidated because it was born before UNIP in 1940 while UNIP was born in 1960 and workers were free to join or reject the ruling party because membership was voluntary.

Present at the meeting was son of former veteran politician the late Mr Harry Nkumbula, Baldwin, who called on Zambians not to be cheated by UNIP tactics.

* Slow Pace Criticized

91AF0075E Lusaka *SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA*
in English 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The multi-party interim national committee yesterday proposed a timetable for constitutional changes leading to the installation of a democratic government by August 1991.

Chairman, Mr Arthur Wina, told more than 70,000 people from various provinces at a mass rally at the Pope's Square in Lusaka that the Government should convene or appoint a commission to prepare a new Republican constitution by 31 April next year.

This should be followed by presidential and general elections in August the same year to pave way for the installation of a new democratic government by the end of 1991.

The referendum polls set for next 13 August should be brought forward and be held before the end of this year.

"To power-hungry people in power, time has come to start arranging for retirement. We are not going to wait for anyone to leave after the economy recovers because that would be waiting for the end of the world, and God is not going to end the world next year," he said to a thunderous applause.

Mr Wina said the new government would start to repossess all UNIP [United National Independence Party] assets procured through tax-payers' funds such as the new Party headquarters, other buildings and vehicles.

Mr Wina who was the sixth and last speaker said the committee was suggesting that the constitution be amended to remove article four now limiting political association to UNIP as it would enable "easy, inexpensive" change to democracy.

Grumblings and disturbances ripping in industries posed "political and security risks" and if the Party and its Government permitted such a slow pace towards political change, a catastrophe might loom.

"The patience of the people will run out. They cannot be happy with the housing allowance for married women introduced today and withdrawn tomorrow," said Mr Wina.

Noting that some "young and aged" coup plotters had been arrested and charged, and later released, Mr Wina

said even if the charges were true Zambians would have to understand that they had no choice but "respond to their consciences."

The multi-partyists were determined to replace the "one-party dictatorship" with a democratic system that would not limit power to a clique.

It was "shameful" that national leaders went "begging" for funds related to liberation of neighbouring countries, "pretending to want democracy in South Africa, Namibia and Botswana" while denying Zambians democracy.

The crowd went wild when master of ceremonies Mr Akashambatwa Mbikusita Lewanika introduced Solwezi East MP [Member of Parliament] Mr Humphrey Mulemba, Chikankata MP Mr Joshua Lumina, Mazabuka MP Mr Bennie Mwiinga, former High Court commissioner Mr Edward Shamwana, former army commander Christon Tembo, Mr Mwamba Luchembe, Mr Sikota Wina, Dr Ludwig Sondashi, Mr Vernon Mwaanga, Mr Frederick Chiluba, Mr Simon Zukas, Dr Kabunda Kayongo, Dr Rodger Chongwe and UNZA [University of Zambia] activist Mr Chileshe Sefuka.

Others introduced were Mr Andrew Kashita, Mr Ephraim Chibwe, Mr Godwin Yoram Mumba, Mr Valentine Musakanya, Lt Col Chanda Sosala and Mr Levi Mwanawasa.

Vice-chairman for operations and organisation Mr Chiluba said tomorrow a campaign would start to collect UNIP cards from multi-partyists and hand them over to UNIP, "so that the UNIP mandate ceases because we cannot wait for them to introduce multi-party politics."

Dr Chongwe told the rally Zambia was violating four major human rights agreements she had ratified by maintaining the one-party system.

Dr Chongwe, who is the African Bar Association chairman, said it was double standards for the Government to sign these agreements and deny Zambians the same rights.

"At independence, Zambia signed the United Nations human rights charter and declaration of human rights which says people have the right to belong to parties of their choice," he said.

"If pluralism is a panacea to the problems in South Africa, why should Zambians be denied the same right of choosing parties they want to belong to? The argument for the restoration of political pluralism is consistent with the Government's doing in the signing of these agreements," he said.

Veteran freedom fighter and businessman Mr Simon Zukas said Zambia's one-party participatory democracy was "mouthful but sadly not bellyful."

"The one-party system has failed to deliver the goods despite having a long time in which to do so. Today the

need for democracy in Zambia can be likened to a child's need for the mother's milk. It cannot be explained," Mr Zukas said.

The only woman speaker, Dr Kabunda Kayongo, said it was unfortunate in this age of information explosion the Zambian Government was still trying to stop people from knowing the truth through psychological violence.

"Psychological violence comes in forms like indoctrination and lies about situations aimed at preventing people from forming informed opinions on issues. That is why we have advertisements like "Kachepa."

In Ndola, multi-party advocates held a public meeting in Chifubu at which former UNIP member and now businessman, Mr Elias Kaenga, said UNIP should drop its dictatorial tendencies.

* Charges Fly Between Multiparty Allies, UNIP

* Bank Workers Union Harassed

91AF0073A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
8 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Lundazi district governor Comrade William Banda is alleged to have closed all commercial banks in the area on Thursday morning for supporting reintroduction of multi-party democracy in Zambia.

The move has riled the Zambia Union of Financial Institutions and Allied Workers [ZUFIAW] that has threatened to write a protest letter to Freedom House and thereafter take legal action against Cde Banda.

ZUFIAW general-secretary Mr Geoffrey Alikipo said in a statement in Lusaka yesterday Barclays, Zambia National Commercial and Lima banks were closed from morning to midday.

Cde Banda is also alleged to have ordered ZUFIAW district chairman Mr Herbert Moonga and committee member Mr Joseph Bwalya to leave the district within 48 hours.

The statement said Party militants in Lundazi surrounded Lima Bank where Mr Moonga and Mr Bwalya work while Cde Banda and his vigilantes went round closing other banks.

The financial institutions were only reopened when police officers moved in to restore order.

"How can the economy pick up with the supposed Party leaders behaving in such a manner?" Mr Alikipo asked and hailed the police for acting quickly before the situation got out of hand.

He said regulations had been worked out to guide every citizen towards a peaceful referendum but it was regrettable Party leaders were busy violating all the rules.

ZUFIAW had already declared its support for the reintroduction of multi-party democracy and the union wondered who empowered Cde Banda to close the banks.

And the national interim committee for multi-party democracy has complained that its supporters in Lundazi are being harassed by UNIP [United National Independence Party] cadres.

Legal sub-committee chairman Mr Levi Mwanawasa said in Ndola yesterday national chairman of the interim committee Mr Arthur Wina had received reports about the harassment of multi-party advocates in Lundazi.

The interim committee's Eastern Province chairman Mr Azwell Banda was allegedly roughed up by "senior political leaders" when he went to Lundazi to investigate the reports, Mr Mwanawasa said.

We are worried about the continued harassment of supporters of multi-party democracy by UNIP supporters, and unless this stops, we'll soon start going to courts of law to apply for permission to prosecute the culprits ourselves.

* Unions Said To Threaten UNIP

91AF0073B Lusaka SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA
in English 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) and Zambia United Local Authority Workers Union (ZULAWU) officials in Chambeshi are allegedly intimidating UNIP [United National Independence Party] supporters and leaders at places of work for supporting the Party, Copperbelt Member of Central Committee Comrade Rankin Sikasula charged yesterday.

Cde Sikasula who was addressing a public meeting at Chambeshi mine recreation club said he had received reports of officials from the two unions who were supporters of the multi-party campaign were threatening Party supporters for not attending to their personal problems at places of work.

He said the same multi-party advocates were going round townships urging people not to attend UNIP meetings because the ruling Party was associated with hunger and those who attended the meetings were branded as traitors.

Cde Sikasula charged that the intimidation of Party militants was rampant in Chambeshi mine plant area and Kalulushi district council offices and called on Party leaders to report any individual found to be behind the threats.

He said the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and MUZ came in existence through UNIP and the Party had never at any time stopped or intimidated its members from joining trade unions but had instead encouraged the strengthening of the labour movements.

"If they continue with these acts of intimidation, then they will be looking for trouble because UNIP will still remain in power until 1998 when we will have the next general elections," he said.

Earlier when welcoming Cde Sikasula Kalulushi district governor Cde Dorothy Chitambala said many Party leaders in Chambeshi had defected to join the multi-party movement.

She said because of such defections the Party in the area was faced with problems in organisation and mobilising supporters. [passage omitted]

* Governor Vows Action Against Workers

91AF0073C Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
29 Aug 90 p 1

[Excerpts] Party Secretary-General Grey Zulu has called on all Zambians to help rebuild the nation's damaged reputation on the international scene following last June's food riots in Lusaka and Kabwe. [passage omitted]

He appealed to all Zambians to work hard in unity and avoid irrational actions which would not take the nation anywhere.

The Party and its Government still cared for its people and that was the reason why it introduced the coupon system for mealie meal so that those in low income had access to the staple food.

And New Lusaka Urban senior district governor Lieutenant Colonel Henry Muyoba has threatened to take action against council employees who attend multi-party meetings.

He issued the warning when he introduced Chairman of the Party Control Commission Comrade Elijah Mudenda who was scheduled to address council employees at Nakatindi hall to drum up support for retention of one party system.

"I have got a list of those who went for multi-party meetings and I am going to deal with them."

Cde Muyoba who was speaking on the second day since he took office urged the employees to continue supporting UNIP as the Party had brought peace and stability.

Cde Muyoba's warning was contrary to assurances given by the director of elections Cde Gabriel Phiri last week that all workers were free to campaign for or against multi-party politics in the countdown to the referendum next year.

Cde Phiri said workers should not be intimidated and urged multi-party advocates who were intimidated by UNIP leaders campaigning for one-party to approach the police.

Addressing the employees later after Cde Mudenda had left Cde Muyoba said:

"If there is somebody here who supports multi-party you go and think properly."

He appealed to council employees who were either engaged in private business or multi-party organisers to go on unpaid leave as the council could not continue paying them for engaging in personal business during official time.

He deplored the tendency by some employees to attend to issues on tribal lines saying the practice should cease henceforth.

He directed that from now onwards council buses should first pick up workers and deliver them to work before engaging on commercial passenger services to boost production.

* Fund Cutoff to Union Threatened

91AF0073D Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
23 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] The Government has threatened to cancel the check-off system to punish the ZCTU [Zambia Congress of Trade Unions] for allegedly misusing workers' funds and time on the campaign for multi-party democracy.

The threat was issued in Kitwe and Zambezi district yesterday by Party Secretary-General Comrade Grey Zulu and Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke respectively when they addressed meetings to persuade people to retain the one party system in the forthcoming referendum.

Cde Zulu warned the ZCTU not "to bite the finger that feeds them."

He told a public meeting in Buchi hall that ZCTU should not be surprised if the Government withdrew the check-off system because it had come to Government notice that it was using workers' contributions to organise the multi-party movement.

"The so-called multi-party committee is a political party in the making but we are disturbed to learn that workers' money is being used for pluralism instead of trade union affairs," Cde Zulu said.

It was surprising the ZCTU which refused to be turned into a mass organisation or to be affiliated to UNIP [United National Independence Party] has openly declared its support for multi-partyism.

"I warn them that the Government will withdraw the check-off system if public funds are going to continue to be used on non-union matters," the Party chief said.

"I want to assure everyone that UNIP will win and continue with the present set-up," he said.

During a question and answer session, Cde Zulu, now spearheading the campaign for a one-party state, urged people to pass a vote of no confidence to any MP [Member of Parliament] hooked to the multi-party line.

Earlier, Kitwe senior district governor Cde Mwanza Malambo told the meeting in welcoming the Party Secretary-General that the country had entered a critical stage where there should be no loss of direction.

Gen Masheke who issued the threat yesterday, said the present stand by the trade union towards the Party was disappointing.

He said instead of toeing the Party line, the unions had decided to work against the leadership through the so-called multi-partyism.

Addressing thousands of Zambezi residents who welcomed him at the airport, Cde Masheke said unless there was a change of behaviour among the union leadership, the Government would not continue collecting monthly subscriptions for them.

"They should as well trot from department to department to collect their dues."

Zana [Zambia News Agency] reports: When he campaigned in Masaiti, Ndola, Rural, Cde Zulu urged the people not to support advocates of the multi-party system because they allegedly have wrong ideas which could wreck the future of Zambia.

Secretary of State for Defence and Security Cde Alex Shapi has commended members of the defence forces for serving the people faithfully and for supporting the leadership of President Kaunda.

Addressing a meeting of officers at Gonda barracks in Chipata yesterday, Cde Shapi said it was because of their commitment, devotion and dedication to duty that Zambia had continued to enjoy peace.

In Isoka, chairman of the Rural Development Committee Cde Reuben Kamanga warned people against the danger of a multi-party system in Zambia as it would bring bloodshed.

* Union Vows Slowdown

91AF0073E Lusaka *SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA*
in English 26 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] The ZCTU [Zambia Congress of Trade Unions] has threatened to slow down industrial production if workers continue to be swayed by intimidation from their own convictions.

Secretary general Mr Newsteadimba issued the warning in Chingola yesterday when he officially closed the workers education seminar at Chingola motel.

Threats and commands to Party members to face disciplinary action if they sided with multi-party advocates should not be entertained as they were dictatorial, he said.

The labour movement in Zambia had a duty to organise itself to retain its true existence on the basis of industrial peace.

"But anyone who will dare to confuse the workers from the belief they have chosen will bear the consequences of forcing us to engage in a low gear of industrial production of goods and services.

"I want to warn anyone with power to push us around and they will be doing so at their own risk."

He said the threats which were being issued to workers were a clear manifestation that there was no freedom of choice.

Mr Zimba claimed that social injustice that had plagued the nation and affected all workers had drawn a lot of concern from trade unions wishing to put matters right.

"There is nothing wrong for labour leaders in getting involved in the campaign for multi-party politics.

"It's known that the utterances we are hearing from the one-party advocates stem from mere leadership than sense," Mr Zimba said.

Mr Zimba appealed to the director of elections Mr Gabriel Phiri to leave referendum issues to the commission which he also accused of having remained silent on many matters reported to it by the multi-party committee.

Reacting to Mr Phiri's remarks yesterday that all workers were free to campaign for or against multi-party politics, Mr Zimba said there should be a demarcation between the functions of the commission and that of the elections office.

"There have been glaring examples where guidelines have been thrown overboard but the chairman of the commission Mr Justice Mathew Ngulube has been silent.

"Why is that so? What we are seeing now are not fair and free campaigns," Mr Zimba said.

He said some workers have been sacked for supporting multi-party politics.

* Iranian Parliamentarian 'Promises' Oil Help

91AF0074A Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
10 Sep 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Iran has pledged to assist Zambia with oil during the current crisis.

The pledge was made in Lusaka yesterday by Mr Ramsan Rohaninia, an Iranian parliamentary delegation leader when he paid a courtesy call on Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke at his office.

Mr Rohaninia said his country was aware of the difficulties Zambia was passing through because of the oil crisis which has resulted from Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait.

"Iran will do everything possible to try and solve your country's oil problems," the Iranian parliamentarian told Gen Masheke through an interpreter.

He said although relations between the two countries have not lasted long he was hopeful the links would strengthen further to cover many areas.

Mr Rohaninia commended Zambia's efforts in spearheading the liberation struggle of other countries in Southern Africa.

Speaking earlier, Gen Masheke welcomed the four-man parliamentary delegation to Zambia and hailed relations existing between the two countries.

The Premier declared that mankind could adequately exploit the abundant resources and put them to good use through interaction among nations.

Gen Masheke said that whereas it was vital for nations to consolidate relations at government levels "it is also important that people of different nations know each other at grassroot level."

He recalled his visit to Iran and observed that the Iranian parliamentary system offered free debate and democracy to the people of Iran.

"I was able to visit the Iranian parliament and I was happy to see the parliamentary system. It allows free debate and democracy," Gen Masheke said. [passage omitted]

* Japanese Aid To Rehabilitate Hospitals

91AF0074B Lusaka *SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA*
in English 9 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Zana—Prime Minister General Malimba Masheke yesterday hailed the Japanese Government for its continued economic assistance to Zambia.

The Premier said Japan has helped Zambia in various economic projects including the establishment of the fertiliser plant in Kafue and the rice scheme in the Central Province.

Zambia and Japan have signed an agreement to rehabilitate the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka and the Kasama General Hospital.

He was speaking when a three-man Japanese parliamentary delegation called on him.

Delegation leader Mr Seiken Suguira said Japan would continue to help Zambia overcome its economic problems.

* UK Reschedules Debt, Provides Import Support

91AF0074C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
1 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Britain yesterday granted Zambia £30 million for import support and rescheduled £15 million debt repayment.

The grant for import support in Kwacha [K] terms using the Bank of Zambia second window exchange rate is valued at over K2 billion while the rescheduled amount is in excess of K1 billion.

The debt relief provides Zambia with a 15-year grace period from yesterday before starting repayments in 2006.

The import support grant would be disbursed within five months and is not tied to imports from Britain alone.

Speaking during the signing ceremony Minister of Finance Comrade Gibson Chigaga praised the British Government for fulfilling the pledges made at the last Paris Club meeting.

The minister was happy because the import support grant was not conditional thereby assisting "our business community considerably in sourcing their requirements."

"They will be able to source from the most competitive supplier in the international scene and therefore, get more value from the money," Cde Chigaga said.

The minister told British high commissioner to Zambia, Mr Peter Hinchcliffe that the Government was constantly monitoring the performance of the 1990 financial and economic programme to ensure that it remains on course.

Mr Hinchcliffe said his government was conscious of the economic measures Zambia had implemented. These were not easy measures and that was why his government was sympathetic especially with the current Gulf crisis which had pushed up oil prices.

Mr Hinchcliffe hoped that other donor states of the Paris Club would be more flexible when responding to Zambia's economic problems.

*** Decentralization Failure Blamed on Economy**

91AF0074D Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
24 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Decentralisation has failed in the past decade because of poor economy, limited technology, lack of qualified manpower and indecision in councils, the Government admitted in Lusaka yesterday.

Road networks and sewage systems are collapsing in the districts while the haphazard growth of residential and industrial areas has occurred contrary to town and country plans, increasing pressure on the financially over-stretched central Government to correct the complex situation.

Decentralisation permanent secretary, Professor Gatian Lungu said on the 10th anniversary of the concept he was still optimistic decentralisation had a bright future.

If the Decentralised Administration Act was thoroughly revised to accommodate realities affecting the system, and if the key question of insufficient skilled staff and the bad economy were resolved, things would improve.

"You cannot say councils are in tatters really, they are doing a relatively formidable job in the circumstances.

Some streets are still lit, water is still supplied and efforts are being made to seal potholes. The country would collapse if councils completely stopped functioning," Prof Lungu said.

While decentralisation was well meant and its ideals "very sound," councils had increased responsibilities because of population growth, fusion of the Party into councils' establishment, shrinkage of resources as grants dried up and the legal question that they raise their requirements and operate independently.

"The other question is how do they pick up in an era of economic decline? It is very unrealistic to expect councils to pick up in a short time," he said.

The lack of financial managers in councils from 1980 to 1986 had led to unforeseen financial crises such that some councils ended up not paying workers for three months.

*** Fuel Shortage Hikes Prices; Workers Affected**

*** Bus Fares Up 50 Percent**

91AF0076A Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
8 Sep 90 p 5

[Text] The United Transport and Taxis Association (UTTA) has hiked the transport fares by 50 percent with immediate effect.

The association chairman Mr Ronald Mwansa announced the new fares in Lusaka yesterday and appealed to members to abide by the percentage.

He said it had become difficult to stop operators from effecting new fares.

"We are going ahead with the new fares with effect from tomorrow morning," Mr Mwansa said.

The 50 percent fares should apply to all parts of the country, he said and regretted some operators on the Copperbelt had increased theirs by 60 percent and 150 percent.

The operators were incurring losses under the old fares since the fuel price was hiked by 55 percent last month.

The situation had been worsened by the shortage of fuel, especially in Lusaka where motorists had to queue up for long hours.

The new fares were revised by the road traffic commission after the proposals were submitted by UTTA but they could not be effected until the Minister of Power, Transport and Communications Brigadier-General Enos Haimbe had approved them.

But Mr Mwansa said he could no longer wait for formal approval as the minister was reported to be out of the country.

*** Transportation Fares Increasing**

91AF0076B Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
5 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Public transport in most major towns in Zambia is grinding to a halt because of a critical shortage of fuel while the United Transport and Taxis Association (UTTA) on the Copperbelt has increased fares by between 60 and 150 percent with effect from last week.

In Lusaka, where fares were increased immediately fuel prices went up two weeks ago, some residents have resorted to walking to and from their workplaces as several minibuses are operating for a few hours because of the insufficient supplies.

Most filling stations are rationing the commodity and it is feared production will be affected as workers in most cases report for work late and leave offices early to try and reach their homes before darkness.

Queues at all bus stops start forming by midday and at 1700 hours confusion reigns as commuters battle to get into the few buses. To avoid the stampede at bus stations, now full of pick-pockets, some people simply walk to their homes.

Pirate and taxi operators have taken advantage of the chaotic situation to charge exorbitant fares.

In Mufulira, a UTTA spokesman Mr Gershom Mutunwa said the fares had been necessitated by the fuel price increase and those of spares.

The new fares with old ones in brackets are: town to Mokambo K25 (K15) [Kwacha], Kamuchanga K10 (K5), Top shops K10 (K5), Kansuswa K15 (K8), Murundu K20 (K10), Minambe K15 (K8), Butondo K10 (K5) and Kitwe K50 (K20).

In Luanshya, members of the UTTA have increased fares on all local routes by 60 percent.

Commuters will now pay K8 on most routes instead of K5, while town/Mpatamatu fares have been increased to K16 from K10, a snap survey showed yesterday.

UTTA officials were not available for comment, but UBZ [United Bus Company of Zambia] and Mulungushi Traveller have maintained old fares on inter-mine town routes.

Some UTTA crew members said the increases were forced by the increase in fuel last month after the disruption of the source of supplies due to the Gulf crisis.

Meanwhile, passengers destined for Kitwe and Ndola were stranded yesterday because of lack of buses to ferry them.

Luanshya has been experiencing shortage of transport because most of the buses the commuters use come from Kitwe and Ndola after the withdraw of services by UBZ.

Reacting to the increases, UTTA national chairman, Comrade Ronald Mwansa appealed to his members to refrain from arbitrary hikes because new fares had already been worked out and were awaiting approval.

*** Milk Prices Raised**

91AF0076C Lusaka *TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English
5 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The Dairy Produce Board (DPB) has increased the retail price of milk from K16 [Kwacha] a litre to K19 with immediate effect.

Company general manager Mr Boniface Sandala said in a statement released in Lusaka yesterday the increase was prompted by escalating production costs caused by the rise in fuel prices.

The DPB has also increased the producer price of milk by 25 percent to compensate farmers for increased production costs on farms resulting in the increase in retail price of 18.75 percent.

Mr Sandala said the recent fuel price increases which his company depended on for factory energy and distribution had exerted severe effects on the DPB operations.

"Despite the huge increase in costs, we have tried to absorb as much as possible the increases through stepping up efficiency in our operations," Mr Sandala said.

But it was not easy to absorb all the cost increases making it necessary to increase the milk prices.

The percentage increase in retail price was lower than that for producer price because the DPB wanted to reduce its percentage mark-up.

He assured customers that the company would keep future increases to the barest minimum.

This is the second time this year the DPB has increased the prices of milk.

*** Beef Prices Up 10 Percent**

91AF0076D Lusaka *SUNDAY TIMES OF ZAMBIA* in English 2 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] Zambia Cold Storage Corporation (ZCSC) has increased beef prices by about 10 percent with immediate effect, it was learnt in Kitwe yesterday.

A regional official on the Copperbelt confirmed the increase citing increased operational costs as having contributed to the move which took customers by surprise yesterday when they went to shop at various ZCSC retailers in the region.

The official, who declined to be named said: "We were forced to hike the price of beef products because the farmers are demanding much more for their animals. We have no way out because we do not own ranches. We put up the beef prices in order to keep operating."

Last March ZCSC hiked beef prices.

And it is feared the recent increase in the price of chibuku beer might force more traders out of business which would result in mass redundancies.

Expressing the fear yesterday Kitwe district chairman of the Chibuku Traders Association of Zambia (CTAZ) Mr Moses Kabalu called on National Breweries (NBL) to rescind the decision if the business in Zambia was to survive.

He said NBL was adding salt to injury because even before the increase announced last Wednesday about 2,000 workers in taverns had been put on forced leave because of lack of business attributed to erratic beer supply and imposition on the market of poorly fermented sorghum brew.

* Electricity Rates Increase

91AF0076E Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
1 Sep 90 p 11

[Excerpt] The Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (Zesco) has increased electricity tariff by 25 percent, managing director Mr John Kaluzi said in an interview in Lusaka yesterday.

Mr Kaluzi said the increase effective from 1 October was precipitated by the continued depreciation of the Kwacha [K].

Zesco has also to service a \$9.1 million debt incurred during the Kafue Gorge disaster when the country had to import electricity from Zaire and Zimbabwe.

He said: "We owe Zaire \$6.8 million and Zimbabwe \$2.3 million."

At the time the electricity was being imported from Zaire and Zimbabwe, the Kwacha was K10 to an American dollar and Zesco had to service the debt at K40 to a dollar.

From the surcharge Zesco was raising K18 million per month and that was not enough to service the debt.

On the ongoing rehabilitation of the gutted Kafue Gorge he said out of the \$47 million to go in the project at least \$22 million had been spent.

Zesco was also pouring in K50 million in the project. Other organisations assisting the rehabilitation included the African Development Bank (ADB), Norad [Norwegian Agency for International Development] and SIDA [Swedish International Development Authority]. [passage omitted]

* Flour Prices 'Hiked'

91AF0076F Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
4 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] National Milling Company (NMC) has hiked the price of flour by 12 percent with immediate effect.

A 25kg bag of flour that used to fetch K492 [Kwacha] now costs K566 raising concern among residents that the prices of bread and buns would shoot up.

In Lusaka at NMC Cairo Road depot, sales in the morning were suspended as the new prices were being effected and security officers had a difficult task of keeping off scores of marketeers and other traders from the premises.

There was no immediate comment from the management on the hike but some company sources said the increase was necessitated by the recent fuel increase by 55 percent as most of the wheat was imported.

Most traders were caught unawares by the flour increase when sales resumed around 1200 hrs.

In May, local farmers expressed dissatisfaction at the wheat producer prices and threatened to stop selling wheat to NMC.

NMC buys 90 kg of wheat at K900 which the commercial farmers said was below the break-even prices and opted to sell their produce elsewhere.

There have been erratic supplies of wheat at NMC causing critical shortage of bread over the past few months.

Bakeries starved with flour warned of looming lay-offs as they could not continue to pay employees without production.

* Wage Talks Urged

91AF0076G Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
10 Sep 90 p 1

[Excerpt] ZCTU [Zambia Congress of Trade Unions] has directed its affiliates to review all collective agreements with employers with a view to improving salaries and conditions to prevent the current spate of strikes.

General secretary Mr Newsteadimba said in Lusaka in an interview yesterday the recent hike in the price of fuel had discharged a spiral of increases for other goods, eroding the workers' buying power.

But he cautioned members from staging massive walk-outs as Zambia needed industrial peace now more than any other time before.

"We are aware that as a result of the recent increases in the price of fuel the prices of all goods have gone up, so affiliates should disregard all agreements and begin negotiating afresh," Mrimba said.

It was clear the buying power had been eroded and it was a matter of urgency that the collective agreements were given a "post-mortem" to cushion the impact of the increases.

Mr Zimba appealed to employers to be flexible during negotiations as rigidity could delay the process and simply agitate the workers further.

There was an imperative need to maintain industrial peace in Zambia because the country was under economic transformation which needed to be nurtured. Work stoppages would certainly delay progress.

Employers should help in expediting the process by adopting a give-and-take attitude to the workers' demands.

Lately, there have been strikes in Lusaka, the Copperbelt and Livingstone in which workers have demanded increased salaries and better conditions of service.

The workers who went on strike included those from Zambia Breweries, the motor trade industry, Lusaka Province Cooperative Union, Bata and much earlier miners in Luanshya and two other firms in Kitwe.

But Mr Zimba appealed for restraint among workers as mass walk-outs were not an answer to the problem. He said trade union leaders had been briefed on the situation and were taking up the matter.

He said it was important that workers gave their union officials chance to tackle the problem to the hilt.

But he accused some employers especially the Government of fanning unrest by deliberately being difficult and failing to respond to workers' demands promptly.

Such an attitude was bad as it only helped to worsen the situation.

It was surprising to see companies donating huge sums of money while they claimed they did not have the money for salary increases and improving workers' conditions of service.

That was bad public relations on the part of employers and only created a bad atmosphere for the country's economy which needed revamping.

The labour movement never encouraged confrontation but always wanted to foster economic development. [passage omitted]

*** Private Sector Workers Strike**

91AF0076H Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English
8 Sep 90 p 1

[Text] The Motor Trade Association of Zambia (MTAZ) yesterday agreed to raise salaries for its workers while the Zambia Breweries management issued an ultimatum to the striking employees to resume work or be fired.

And hundreds of workers at Bata Shoe Company and Lusaka Province Cooperative Union (LPCU) in Lusaka yesterday downed tools to back up demands for higher salaries and improved conditions of service.

At the State-run LMA [Livingstone Motor Assemblers] the plant was deserted as workers went back home when it became apparent that the management would not respond to their demands.

Workers were reported to have been chased away from the premises of the Party-owned Duly Motors after they refused to call off the strike.

At Zambia Breweries in Lusaka a spokesman said all workers had been issued warning letters urging them to return to work or be dismissed.

Plans had been made to meet beer demands of strategic institutions until normal production resumed. Beer traders and their trucks have spent nearly two weeks in vain at the main depot in Lusaka.

Brewery workers at the Ndola plant resumed work yesterday and production was back to full capacity by the time a TIMES reporter visited the premises.

Ndola Central Member of Parliament [MP], Comrade Victor Konic toured the plant with union officials and top management officials and found work was in full swing.

The workers went on strike in Ndola and Lusaka to press for allowances and better pay packages.

On the LPCU workers, acting general manager Mr Hedley Siankanga said they stopped work in the morning demanding increases in line with the 85 percent paid by Government to civil servants.

The workers charged that Lintco, Zambia Cooperatives Federation (ZCF) and other Government workers had received hefty increments.

"I had to address them and made it clear that we had not been given a chance to look into the issue. The board of directors will have to sit and I am sure we shall resolve this by the end of the month," Mr Siankanga said.

The LPCU workers created a rowdy scene before they returned to work after the address.

MTAZ agreed to increase salaries to a minimum basic of K2,691 [Kwacha] a month and to pay transport allowance of K340 a month with effect from 1 August.

Announcing this in Ndola yesterday Joint Industrial Council (JIC) secretary Mr Paddy Pulford said the decision was made at a meeting between MTAZ and the National Union of Transport and Allied Workers (NUTAW) held in Lusaka yesterday.

Mr Pulford said the JIC meeting, which was chaired by Lusaka Urban district executive secretary Comrade Stephen Mushinge, also agreed to give workers housing allowances equivalent to 25 percent of one's basic monthly pay.

The increase represented a rise of 237 percent on the salaries and wages of the lowest paid workers within the industry.

Mr Pulford said the collective agreement was signed by MTAZ president Mr George Duncan and NUTAW general secretary Mr Katebe Mabuluki.

Mr Pulford who is MTAZ secretary said with the agreement, all motor trade industry workers who were on strike were requested to return to work on Monday.

Earlier, motor trade industry workers in Lusaka met at Star Commercial Motors briefly and dispersed for their homes after learning from NUTAW deputy general secretary Mr Sam Phiri that nothing had been resolved in meetings with MTAZ officials.

In Livingstone, the strike by unionised workers in the motor trade industry continued for the second day yesterday, despite frantic efforts by managements of the affected firms to end it.

The work stoppage which started in Lusaka on Wednesday has crippled operations of Livingstone Motor Assemblers (LMA), Motor Holdings and Duly Motors.

At Bata Shoe Company, workers demanded the removal of personnel manager Mr Francis Kafula and a 150 percent salary and wage increment.

A group of about 200 found outside company premises as the police stood by told the TIMES the company paid retiring workers K500 terminal benefits even after 12 to 20 years' service.

Management had refused to give workers any increment and employees were annoyed that as shoe producers they themselves could not afford a pair.

The management refused to talk to unionists yesterday morning preferring to handle the matter administratively. Officials from the National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers (NUCIW) had taken up the matter.

Lusaka has in the last week exploded with sporadic strikes believed to centre on the 85 percent salary increment given to civil servants earlier this year.

In Mongu, about 800 classified daily workers at Lewanika General hospital staged a sit-in protest over the non-payment of their August salaries and housing allowances dating back to February, reports Zana [Zambia News Agency].

Business at the hospital came to a halt as the angry workers refused to clean hospital wards and surroundings until when their demands will be met.

Ghana

Military in Liberia Warned Not To Lower Guard

AB2410194090 Accra Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The leader of the revolution, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, today held a meeting with the commanders, officers, and men of the Ghana Armed Forces at the Burma Hall in Accra to discuss some current developments and the situation in Liberia.

He stressed that the very fact that the military component of the conflict is beginning to reduce in favor of more diplomatic efforts is no excuse for the military to lower their guard, adding that such an attitude can be costly in terms of individual lives and also in political terms.

Flight Lt. Rawlings observed that at the beginning of the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] mission, when things were really hot and tense, the casualty rate was low, and regretted that now that the conflict on the military front has become less tense, the contingent is beginning to record unexpected casualties. The leader of the revolution said some of the casualties that have recently been reported could be attributed to the lowering of guard and the loss of the earlier vigilance among the troops. He therefore stressed the need to maintain strict military procedures and vigilance.

Reiterating earlier statements that Ghana would not take sides with any of the contending parties, Flight Lt. Rawlings emphasized that the political framework of the ECOWAS nations in addressing the situation in Liberia is not inflexible and does not shut the door to presidential aspiration of any of the members of contending factions, including their leaders.

Contributions were made by some officers and men. Among those present were the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] member responsible for defense, Alhaji Mahama Idrisu, service commanders, and senior staff officers of the Ministry of Defense.

France Cancels Foreign Debt, Awards Grants

AB2410093690 Dakar PANA in English
0855 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Accra, 23 Oct (GNA/PANA)—France Monday [22 Oct] cancelled Ghana's 114.2 million French francs (about 22 million U.S. dollars) debt owed it by the West African country and converted 228.2 million French Francs (about 44 million U.S. dollars) into grants under an accord signed in Accra.

The agreement was initialled by the resident representative of the French aid agency, Caisse Centrale de Coopération Economique (CCCE), Philippe Benedic and by Ghana's secretary (minister) for finance and economic planning, Kwesi Botchwey.

The French ambassador in Ghana, Jean-Francois Lionnet, who was present at the ceremony, said Ghana has become eligible for assistance from his country for projects that do not have direct financial profitability such as rural development, water supply, training and management support.

He said French loans through the CCCE would now attract 1.5 percent interest and would have a repayment period of 30 years with a 10-year grace period.

In his remarks, Botchwey described the development as a "solid gesture that signals a very important turn in the bilateral co-operation between the two countries."

He added that France's decision to cancel Ghana's debt was a welcome relief which would enable Ghana to do a lot more to reduce the sacrifices of Ghanaians.

The decision also made a qualitative change in North-South relations in view of criticisms that capital flows from the least developed to the developed countries were in real terms more than the aid received from the latter, Botchwey said.

Ivory Coast

Minister Cites Plans To Disrupt Elections

AB2510095690 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Statement by Interior Minister Leon Konan Koffi on upcoming presidential elections—live]

[Text] Dear countrymen and dear friends of Ivory Coast: Persistent reports from various circles hint, with supporting evidence, that some individuals are organizing themselves during these presidential elections to indulge in acts of intimidation against non-Ivorian nationals or aliens resident in Abidjan and other parts of the country. Others are said to have planned to disrupt and even prevent the smooth running of the elections next Sunday, 28 October.

I am once again making a solemn appeal to everybody to be conscious of their real responsibilities as a citizen, and that apart from the need to safeguard the hitherto positive image of Ivory Coast everywhere outside our borders, they should also respect the freedom of their brothers who want to exercise their rights as voters in calm, order, and peace.

Having said that, I would like to warn all those who, either through irresponsibility, thoughtlessness, or dishonesty, will pay no heed to this repeated appeal to calm and reason, that the government and its mandated agents in charge of law and order will not fail to take up their responsibilities by rigorously applying the relevant legal provisions, should they deliberately plan to commit premeditated acts of intimidation and throw the country into disorder or violence.

I solemnly declare that the freedom of expression and the republican order which has always prevailed in our country will be in these circumstances, more than ever, respected and honored.

FPI Denied Air Time For 'Cheating,' 'Deceit'

*AB2310202390 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 23 Oct 90 p 2*

[Interview with Ouattara Gnonzie and Ali Coulibaly, radio and TV news directors, members of the radio and television technical commission on the electoral campaign, by Alfred Dan Moussa; commission members' replies not individually identified; first paragraph is FRATERNITE MATIN introduction]

[Text] The Ivorian Popular Front [FPI] did not utilize its 20-minute air time last night because of "cheating." This explanation was provided by Ouattara Gnonzie and Ali Coulibaly, members of the technical commission set up to monitor the implementation of the measure allocating air time on the radio and television to political parties during the electoral campaign. Both men came to our editorial service at about 2230 last night and said that the FPI document was censored because it was received belatedly and contained deceitful elements.

[Moussa] The FPI was not allocated its 20-minutes of air time. Can you tell us what happened?

[Commission member] We found ourselves confronted with an abnormal situation, that is, a case of deceit which we found it hard to condone.

[Moussa] Can you elaborate?

[Member] First, the cassette was not submitted an hour before broadcast time, as the commission's regulations prescribe, to allow the members to review it in the presence of the representatives of the political parties.

[Moussa] What time was the cassette submitted?

[Member] As has been explained to each political party, all documents should be submitted an hour before broadcast time, that is, at 1845 GMT for radio documents and at 1900 for television documents. The FPI submitted its document after 2000.

[Moussa] Was this essentially a delay?

[Member] When we receive cassettes, we listen to them to find out whether they contain deceitful elements or pronouncements calling for a revolt, subversion, and defamation. When we did this, we realized that the FPI submitted its cassette belatedly today because it wanted to wait and listen to its adversary's statements in order to be able to amend its own statements. The FPI document contained statements such as: We have just heard a representative of the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast [PDCI] say that we told lies on the question of raw materials; this is not true, do not listen to him. This shows that the FPI deliberately submitted its cassette

belatedly, that is, not at the prescribed time, when the PDCI also submitted its cassette. The FPI had decided to listen first to its adversary's pronouncements on the radio and television.

The second bone of contention was this: The FPI spoke of statistics from an opinion poll allegedly conducted by BBC which predicts its victory over the PDCI.

[Moussa] So the FPI cassette was not broadcast for two reasons. Could you not have achieved a compromise?

[Member] Despite the delayed submission of the document, the commission met and decided to telecast it on condition that the FPI agreed to leave out the portion on the poll statistics, which the commission members found were not substantiated or well-founded. In addition, we were going to make this announcement on television: Despite the delayed submission of the FPI document, the commission has agreed to telecast it.

In response, the FPI rejected all these proposals. It ruled out not only omitting the statistics in the alleged poll, but also the announcement that the document was received belatedly. As you can see, the commission proposed a compromise which was turned down outright by the FPI.

[Moussa] In a nutshell, what was the fundamental reason: the delay or the disagreement over the statistics in the opinion poll?

[Member] There were two fundamental reasons: the delay, because the prescribed submission time was not respected.

For the sake of peace and social harmony, we were willing to accept the delay, but we could not permit the deceitful portion about the opinion poll to be aired—a poll conducted by the BBC and never aired by the BBC itself. We asked them to wait until the BBC first airs the poll, but the FPI did not want to see reason in this regard.

[Moussa] How do you foresee the course of the campaign?

[Member] The campaign will go on smoothly. The FPI knows it has cheated and should reasonably agree to continue with the campaign.

Correspondent Denies Political Surveys Conducted

*AB2410204290 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 24 Oct 90 p 10*

[Interview with BBC Correspondent Elizabeth Blunt by FRATERNITE MATIN in Abidjan on 23 October; first paragraph is FRATERNITE MATIN introduction]

[Text] On Monday evening, Ivorian Television viewers could not view the 20 minutes of air time allotted to the Ivorian Popular Front [FPI]. This party wrote about BBC statistics which tip it to win the elections against the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast [PDCI]. A few hours after the publication of this information yesterday, Miss Elizabeth Blunt, BBC's West Africa correspondent, reacted by saying that the survey that the FPI wrote about never existed:

[FRATERNITE MATIN] You are a journalist at the BBC and responsible for its West Africa bureau. Some information was published concerning the statistics of a survey conducted by your radio station on the Ivorian presidential elections. What is the exact situation?

[Blunt] In my capacity as BBC West Africa correspondent, I would like to say without much ado that I have never heard of any political survey conducted by the BBC. But when I heard the news, like everybody else, I wanted to become informed personally and then make my conclusions. I therefore phoned our headquarters in London, to the French and English services of our radio station, in order to learn about the situation.

From my contacts with London, it emerges that the BBC has never conducted any political survey in Ivory Coast. What we did in Ivory Coast, like anywhere else, was a listeners' survey. In fact, these surveys enable us to know the people who regularly tune in to our station.

Similar surveys are conducted by Radio France International and the Voice of America. Listeners' surveys also enable us to know when listeners tune in to our radio station and on which frequencies, etc. In conclusion, they are not political surveys.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] Does this mean that BBC does not have the means to conduct political surveys?

[Blunt] I would say that political surveys are extremely expensive. So we do not presently have the means to conduct them.

[FRATERNITE MATIN] You conducted listeners' surveys. Can we know exactly when they took place?

[Blunt] I do not remember the exact dates. But I can say they took place about a year ago. I repeat that we have not conducted any political surveys. Our concern is that FRATERNITE MATIN readers have read that the BBC has conducted surveys whose results it has not yet made public. People may think that the BBC has hidden the results of these surveys because they were unfavorable to one of the two parties. What is certain is that the surveys that are said to have been conducted by the BBC have never existed. I can say that solemnly.

2,000 Students Demonstrate for FPI Candidate

AB2410224390 Paris AFP in French 1230 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Abidjan, 24 Oct (AFP)—More than 2,000 Ivorian students held demonstrations today in Abidjan to support the candidacy of Professor Laurent Gbagbo, leader of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) against President Felix Houphouet-Boigny in the presidential elections next Sunday [28 Oct].

Security forces did not intervene, unlike the four previous demonstrations by the opposition in Abidjan, which were violently dispersed. The electoral campaign began last week.

The young people, waving portraits of Laurent Gbagbo, small blue and white FPI flags, and their student cards, chanted: Houphouet is hot! We are not thugs! and: President Gbagbo! Under a very hot sun, they marched from the university campus to the business center in Plateau and passed near the Presidential Palace. There are about 22,000 students at the national university.

Houphouet-Boigny Said To Face Strong Challenger

AB2410092690 Paris AFP in English 0822 GMT
24 Oct 90

[by Alain Bommerez]

[Text] Abidjan, Oct 24 (AFP)—Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the 85-year-old patriarch who has ruled this West African country since independence, faces a strong challenger in unprecedented multiparty elections for president on Sunday [28 Oct].

For the first time since Ivory Coast won its independence from France 30 years ago, voters will be given a choice between Mr. Houphouet-Boigny and another candidate. Laurent Gbagbo, 46, an opponent of the regime who spent nearly two years in prison and more than six years in exile in France, will be attempting to unseat the man who had dominated Ivory Coast politics since most voters can remember.

Returning from exile in September 1988, Mr. Gbagbo, a history professor, emerged within a few months as uncontested leader of the opposition. A tall imposing figure, Mr. Gbagbo is widely acclaimed by the activists of his Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) party and among the country's youth.

The FPI, founded in 1982 as an underground movement, claims to have a million members and sees itself as part of the "democratic left." Mr. Houphouet-Boigny, who celebrated his 85th birthday earlier this month, guided the country towards independence and has personally shaped its economic and political evolution.

Long hailed as the architect of the Ivory Coast economic "miracle," he was forced this year to accept calls for a multiparty system in the wake of strikes and civil unrest. With the collapse of coffee and cocoa prices, crops which had assured this country's prosperity, the president's grip on power was suddenly shaken. For the first time student demonstrators booed his name in a wave of protests and strikes which began earlier this year. In response, Mr. Houphouet-Boigny announced on April 30 his acceptance of a multiparty system. Within weeks some 25 parties were born.

Stung by the protests, the Ivory Coast leader nevertheless took back the initiative and successfully welcomed Pope John Paul II on a visit to the Ivory Coast last month. The pope's controversial consecration of a mammoth multi-million dollar basilica, built by Mr. Houphouet-Boigny in his home town of Yamoussoukro, went off without a hitch.

A new wave of student protests was nipped in the bud last month, as police and Army units were deployed on the

University of Abidjan campus. Most of the students deemed responsible for the start of the disorders were expelled.

A radical austerity plan launched last June in an attempt to resolve the country's financial crisis has so far failed to provoke major protests. Meanwhile, the president has left his campaigning to his former minister of communications, Laurent Dona Fologo.

His challenger, on the other hand, has used his officially allotted radio and television time to appear as a responsible politician ready to assume leadership. Mr. Gbagbo has criss-crossed the country in recent weeks, continuing to demand a true pluralistic democracy for the Ivory Coast. "These elections may be rigged," he has said. "But we will work to ensure that the elections of 1995 are not."

Opposition's 'Personality Cult' Criticized

AB2410211590 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN
in French 22 Oct 90 p 1

[Keke Yacouba editorial: "Where is the masquerade?"]

[Text] Multipartisan democracy in Ivory Coast has very much taken off. One must be of very bad faith not to recognize that within six months, significant progress has been made, especially as Ivory Coast was neither Ceausescu's Romania nor Honecker's German Democratic Republic. It had nothing in common with all those dictatorships prevailing in those Eastern countries, which were swept away in shackles by a violent wind. Ivory Coast was also not one of those African military-Marxist regimes where there is neither bread nor freedom.

In this country, fundamental liberties are entirely respected. To switch from the single party system to the multiparty system, the country did not have to resort to any revolution. Ivory Coast did not have to resort to the "miraculous" national conference and the dissolution of Parliament in order to organize this transition, as was done in some other countries. The 1960 Constitution had already made provision for this necessary change. President Houphouet-Boigny simply believed that conditions were not sufficient for a multiparty system. But because he did not want to be out of tune with his people, he took note of the fact that the consensus needed to develop the country had been broken. And now, as we are in a presidential elections campaign, a candidate for the presidency, without any discomfort or modesty, is now claiming to his credit this entire development, proclaiming that he is the father of the multiparty system in Ivory Coast. He tells us that for the past 26 years, he has been fighting for freedom because we had been living under a regime of terror. He announces that there are other Bastilles for him to capture. He even went further, claiming that he originated the idea of allocating radio and television time as part of the presidential election campaign. A little bit of modesty and humility, less verbal aggressiveness, and fewer pretentious claims would undoubtedly bolster the image of a leader who says he is ready to rule this country.

But what would you think of a party that already sees itself as a "rally of the nation's most competent hands and most intelligent heads, made up of people of excellent morality and above suspicion?" What would one think of a party whose leader is the object of a worrisome personality cult? Some of its followers do not even hesitate to call the party leader "Jesus" or the "Messiah." For the time being, we have been waiting and are still waiting for that party's real program of action. For the time being, it is only to the farmers that the party has promised paradise. It is only the jobless that it has "assured" jobs. The rest of its discourse consists of slogans on freedom and democracy. This is a rear-guard fight because today, that party can express itself freely every evening for 40 minutes on radio and television. It owns a newspaper which writes what it wants in the most complete freedom. It holds numerous rallies and meetings throughout the country. Where is the masquerade then? These models from which they draw their inspirations, where are they now after 200 years of democracy?

Liberia

Nigeria, Experts Dismiss Taylor's Bombing Claims

AB2410130690 Paris AFP in English 1214 GMT
24 Oct 90

[Text] Freetown, Oct 24 (AFP)—The Nigerian ambassador to Liberia on Wednesday [24 Oct] refuted allegations by Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor that four Nigerian fighter planes bombed areas controlled by his National Patriotic Front and that one [as received] was shot down. Ambassador Abraham Tukur, currently living in Freetown, said the "claim is baseless and unfounded," adding, "Charles Taylor is in a jittery state and we can understand." The Nigerian envoy said "based on information received from Lagos early Wednesday, at no time has any Nigerian fighter plane been shot down by the rebels."

He criticised Mr. Taylor for making "unfounded claims in a bid to further complicate the situation in Liberia" since a peacekeeping force set up by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) went into Monrovia in August.

African defence experts here also refuted the rebel leader's claim, describing it as "mischievous and silly."

Meanwhile African diplomats with access to direct news from Monrovia said the distribution of food to starving Liberians was continuing unabated.

However one envoy said the health situation in the Liberian capital was "still cause for concern as people are dying from cholera and malnutrition."

He said that although Medecins Sans Frontieres, the Belgian-based charity, was "bridging the health gap, more international medical input is necessary to help save the lives of many Liberians, particularly children."

In a separate development, a Chinese diplomat said here that the Chinese Embassy in Freetown was "trying to locate some 12 Chinese businessmen who are still believed trapped in Monrovia since August. We do not know whether they are still alive, but we have asked help from ECOMOG to locate them," he said, referring to the ECOWAS force.

Taylor on Losing Ground to Johnson, ECOMOG

*AB2410175390 Paris AFP in French 1834 GMT
22 Oct 90*

[Text] Gbarnga (Liberia), 22 Oct (AFP)—The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) has just admitted that it has "lost ground" to a dissident faction led by Prince Johnson and the West African Cease-Fire Monitoring force (ECOMOG). "We have lost ground and we have undergone serious artillery attacks from ECOMOG and their friends. I no longer know where the Front is because the line keeps moving; everybody wants to know where we are," Charles Taylor, leader of the NPFL said yesterday at a news conference.

The ECOMOG forces, comprising Gambian, Ghanaian, Guinean, Nigerian, and Sierra Leonean soldiers, supported by the remnants of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and elements of Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL), now control the whole of the capital and its environs to a radius of several tens of kilometers, according to various sources. Thus the third battle of Monrovia, which began in mid-September, has ended at the expense of the NPFL, which had almost conquered the whole of the capital this summer. Although he says he still has several dozen [as received] soldiers, it seems he is continuing to lose ground to the coalition led by Nigeria.

In mid-September, the NPFL fighters were only 400 meters away from the presidential palace and controlled the eastern part of the capital. They were fighting against the AFL, which was entrenched inside the presidential palace and an adjoining military camp, and against their former comrades in arms of the INPFL, which controlled the center and the port of Monrovia, the most populous areas.

ECOMOG, which tried in vain to separate the fighters of the three factions, launched a major offensive on 27 September on three fronts to clear the capital of NPFL elements, with the support of the few hundreds of soldiers of the AFL and the INPFL. To the south, progressing with the AFL along Tubman Boulevard, the professional soldiers of the ECOMOG pushed back NPFL fighters to the east, freeing in the process the James Spriggs Payne airport and a number of embassies, and going on to Paynesville, the suburb where the NPFL Radio, which stopped transmitting on 15 October, is installed.

Further to the north of the port, at Bushrod Island, they captured the suburbs and the swamps, from where the NPFL could shell the port and the airport, and they tried

to cut off the Monrovia-Kakata-Ivory Coast road, the main north-south route of the country, vital for obtaining supplies.

Finally, preceded by Johnson's men, they captured several important areas, situated some 30 km north of Monrovia: White Plains (and the water treatment plant); and Fendell (university campus, where dozens of thousands of persons took refuge, including several thousands of Ghanaians and Nigerians).

According to various reports, Johnson is said now to be threatening the Bong Mines (80 km northeast of Monrovia) and the ECOMOG is reportedly trying to recapture Careysburg and the VOA African Service transmitter. ECOMOG is also trying to recapture Harbel and the Robertsfield Airport (60 km east of Monrovia), and is advising foreigners to leave Buchanan (an important port situated about 100 km east of Monrovia). Thus, the NPFL would be repulsed from most parts of the Atlantic Coast, while still leaving them in control of most of the country.

These results change the political and military situation: Taylor was driven from the capital and is now in a less favorable position to impose his leadership on the country while ministers of member countries of the ECOMOG were meeting today in Banjul. The Economic Community of West African States mediation committee, comprising five countries contributing soldiers to ECOMOG, supports a government headed by Professor Amos Sawyer, who plans to establish itself soon in Monrovia and to which the AFL and the INPFL have pledged support. The NPFL, however, has allies: Burkina Faso officially, and several other French-speaking countries more discretely.

Mali

Multiparty System, Diallo Resignation Viewed

*AB2410193390 Paris AFP in French 1420 GMT
21 Oct 90*

[By AFP special correspondent Francis-Xavier Harispe]

[Text] Bamako, 21 Oct (AFP)—The official creation in the Malian capital on 18 October of a National Committee for a Democratic Initiative (CNID), which calls for freedom to establish political parties and associations, is increasingly making the democratization process in Mali irreversible, observers note.

Democratization and the introduction of a multiparty system have already been requested publicly by several Malian representative groups, including the Mali Bar Association and the Mali Human Rights Association (AMDH). Mr. Mountage Tall, secretary general of the Bar Association, is chairman of the CNID, whose bureau includes another lawyer, Mr. Demba Diallo, the AMDH chairman.

The Malian Catholic Church, whose leader Archbishop Luc Sangare is one of the country's most respected and influential figures, is reported to have submitted a

memorandum on the subject to the head of state, it was learned from reliable sources in Bamako, while the leaders of the Muslim Association of Mali have publicly expressed their support for the democratization of a military regime that has been in power for 22 years.

"A multiparty system is only a question of weeks," said a Malian intellectual who doubted that the status quo of a single party, established in 1979, can last until March 1991, the official opening date for the next congress of the Democratic Union of Malian People (UDPM), which should rule on the issue.

The independent press, whose existence has been tolerated by the authorities only since March 1989, is also pushing at the wheel of change by publishing readers' letters in support of democratization. The bimonthly "LES ECHOS" even published an open letter to the head of state, signed by several hundreds of people and dated 7 August that called for a multiparty system. "Even the activists and leaders of the single ruling party are convinced about the need to establish a multiparty system," Mr. Demba Diallo stated.

In private, however, everyone who is waging the fight for democracy in relative secrecy fears that the process, which they hope will be irreversible, will be repressed and stifled. A demonstration held on 15 October and during which five jobless youths carried placards that denounced the single party was thus welcomed with caution. Was it not a provocation on the part of the government? In the view of many Malian intellectuals, this kind of demonstration can serve as a pretext for repression.

"It is necessary to avoid insults and violence and make gradual progress, but the point of no return has been reached," according to Alpha Oumar Konare, former minister of culture, whose magazine, LES ECHOS, champion of the cause of democratization, was the first to defy the government's press monopoly. The proponents of democratization also fear the Tuareg crisis and are worried that a military government could use the nomads' rebellion in the north of the country as a pretext to suspend the people's liberties.

In Bamako, everybody is questioning the head of state's personal stand on multiparty politics and there is speculation about the influence which General Moussa Traore's wife—reputed to be hostile to the process—will have on the president as well as on several members of the government considered to be their close associates.

Everyone is also speculating about the resignation—which has not been officially confirmed—of Mr. Djibril Diallo, political secretary of the sole party's Central Executive Bureau (BEC) and officially the regime's number two man. According to the independent press, Mr. Djibril Diallo announced at a meeting of the sole party's National Council that all of the party's local branches and the BEC were in support of a multiparty system. Mr. Diallo announced his resignation, saying that the UDPM, the sole party, had "reached the threshold of incompetence." He was booed and

upbraided by the party's hard-core "caciques", some of whom are close to the president's wife.

Meanwhile, in the districts of Bamako and in the country's provinces, political activity continues and in the view of all observers, pre-independence or more recently formed clandestine political parties are active.

In the meantime, advocates of a multiparty system continue unrelentingly to watch video tapes of Benin's national conference, which led to the advent of multiparty politics in Cotonou in February 1990. The Benin example seems to impress the advocates of a Malian multiparty system, even though they give the impression that they want to avoid the anarchy that was seen in Cotonou during the "national conference."

Nigeria

Nation To Set Up Broadcasting Unit in Liberia

AB2410122090 Lagos International Service
in English 1030 GMT 24 Oct 90

[From the press review]

[Text] A front page lead story of the GUARDIAN reports that Nigeria is to set up a broadcasting unit in Liberia. According to the paper, Nigeria moved a mobile broadcasting unit into Monrovia yesterday perhaps to propagate the ideals of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] monitoring force and counter rebel leader Charles Taylor's propaganda advantage in the Liberian 10-month-old civil war. The paper reports that to allow radio transmission, the mobile broadcasting team is being assembled by the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, FRCN, which was expected to dispatch one outside broadcasting van to Monrovia by yesterday.

The GUARDIAN quotes a Federal Information Ministry source as saying that personnel from the FRCN headed by an assistant director general and including five producers and five seasoned announcers will operate the broadcasting unit. There are also two technicians and five other journalists to report and edit news and other information materials. The paper also quotes the sources as saying that the broadcasting unit will be based in Monrovia and adequately protected by the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group.

Oil Aid Package for African States Planned

AB2410104090 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Nigeria is working out a package of assistance to African countries affected by high crude oil prices as a result of the Gulf Crisis. General Babangida announced this today at Dodan Barracks when he received the acting first vice president of Sierra Leone, Mr. Ben Kanu, who brought a special message from President Joseph Momoh. He explained that the gesture was to help sister African nations in need. President Babangida

again stressed the need for West African countries to work hard towards peace and progress in the subregion. Earlier, Mr. Kanu said Sierra Leone needed Nigeria's assistance especially in the area of oil supply.

Also today a Malian delegation led by the minister secretary in the presidency, Mr. Django Cissoko, delivered a special message from President Moussa Traore to Gen. Babangida.

Senegal

* Reaction to Gulf War, Troop Dispatch

* 'War Dividend'

91AF0036A Dakar SUD HEBDO in French
6 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Editorial by Babacar Toure: "The Flower in the Gun"]

[Text] Senegal is getting directly involved in the Gulf crisis: it will send a military contingent to a Saudi Arabia worried by the hegemonic designs of Iraq, which last month annexed its neighbor Kuwait. The announcement, which was made last Tuesday at the Council of Ministers meeting (the first following the summer break), did not say when the Senegalese soldiers would be going or how many would be sent.

By deciding to send a military contingent to Saudi Arabia, Senegal is investing a little in the hope that it will get a big return. Judging by what the special commentator on national television said, only a few soldiers will be playing desert shield. A military source guarantees that they will not be taken from operational units, and their presence, although symbolic, might help solve a few cash problems. Paradoxically, Senegal explained the withdrawal of its soldiers from Gambia last year by the need to redeploy them along the Mauritanian border. No matter! This move is all the more lucrative in that the bill for operation "Desert Shield," estimated at some \$23 billion, will be divided up among the United States, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (in exile), the Gulf Emirates, Japan, the FRG, and everybody else.

Countries such as France and Great Britain, which have contributed men and equipment to the defense of Arabia's oil wells, have so far been exempted from that worldwide tithe.

What can Senegal expect in return for its expedition to Arabia? To begin with, there is the symbolic value. Since the international community regards Iraq as an outlaw, it is always gratifying to be included by the big Western powers among the good guys opposing the bad guys. Especially for a country whose main export product is democracy with a liberal dressing. Moreover, seeing that Saudi Arabia is bent on demonstrating to one and all that defense of the holy places of Islam is not in the hands of American infidels, Senegalese participation might pass as an indication that the Islamic Ummah (community) is

involved in defending Mecca and Medina, whose internationalization is being demanded by some Arab countries and Iran on the grounds that they have been usurped and are being illegally exploited for the benefit of the Sa'ud dynasty.

The image of Senegal as a land of Islam representing black Africa is certainly not displeasing to authorities in Dakar, for whom the holding of the summit meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [OIC] is a top priority.

Because Saudi Arabia and Sheikh Jabir's Kuwait are the principal financial backers of the OIC, one can hope that they will not fail to return the favor in an even more substantial way than anyone could have imagined had the conflict not occurred. Especially since war is quite improbable, at least in the immediate future. The Senegalese commitment, which was requested by Saudi Arabia following the visit by the minister-director of the cabinet of the president of the Republic of Senegal or suggested by the latter, is not a completely unprecedented operation on the part of a Third World country with a large Muslim population. In the specific instance of this new episode in the Gulf, its commitment follows that by Pakistan, which has just sent a first contingent of 350 "soldiers of Islam" and will follow that with a 5,000-man infantry brigade to "defend the holy places" from a possible Iraqi attack. For its part, Bangladesh has sent a contingent of about 4,000 men to "defend the Holy Land."

In the recent past, our country has distinguished itself by its military intervention in Shaba, Chad, Gambia, and Lebanon, where its soldiers were sent in response to "crises." Except in the case of Lebanon, our Armed Forces either went to the rescue of regimes rejected by their people (Gambia and Zaire) or helped install the man chosen by the West (Hissein Habre in Chad). Whether by coincidence or by design, Senegal announced the sending of a contingent to Saudi Arabia at the very moment when the Gambian chief of state and current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)—which also has a penchant for sending out expeditionary corps—was in Dakar to persuade Senegal to participate in or at least support the ECOWAS intervention force sent to Lebanon and rightly ignored by our country.

Senegal, which had distinguished itself in the first few weeks of the crisis by its heavy silence, wound up where no one expected to see it. Senegal's trump cards have turned out to be mainly on the diplomatic front.

Having been appointed in Kuwait City to succeed Amir Sheikh Jabir Al Sabah at the head of the OIC, President Abdou Diouf was well placed to call for a special summit meeting by the organization of the Islamic Ummah. Indonesia, which has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world, was the ideal place to hold such a meeting, all the more since Jakarta has hosted an OIC meeting before and has suitable infrastructure. Following the failure of UN mediation and the virtual paralysis of the Arab League, which is deeply divided and whose secretary general has just resigned, such a

move on Senegal's part had some chance of influencing the course of events—if only by keeping alive the possibility of contact between the parties to the conflict, which, regardless of what the Arabs think, cannot ignore the positions taken by the world's non-Arab Muslim majority. Gestures such as that are more significant than holding on to our embassy in Kuwait City, which has passed unnoticed in reports concerning the diplomatic presence in Kuwait of third countries. Unless Senegal was trying to keep up with Mauritania, which has announced that it is sending volunteers to Iraq! In any case, it is impossible not to have noticed the muddle in our diplomacy, which appears to be an exploded galaxy racked by the office of the presidency's interventionism in all directions—a circumstance that has recently created some discord on the subject of the Gulf.

So what does "little" Senegal want, and what can it expect from its troop deployment in Saudi Arabia? A few clues on that subject: countries will be compensated for enforcing the embargo/blockade against Iraq or sending troops, the chief beneficiaries being Egypt and Turkey. Reimbursement of Egypt's debt will be the responsibility of a "group of countries." Washington has reportedly promised to forgive a debt of some \$7.1 billion that is owed by Egypt for military materiel delivered but not paid for. And while Turkey is assured of receiving \$2 billion per year, Jordan, for its part, is threatened with the loss of \$20 million in U.S. aid if it decides not to enforce the embargo. In the midst of such deals, Senegal can always hope for dividends if it plays its international cards right. But be that as it may, it will first have to sweep in front of its own door. With a latent war on its northern border (Iraq is at our gates in Mauritania), a rebellion in Casamance that has become a real war with regional implications, a mishandled economy, and an unprecedented and hopeless political crisis, President Abdou Diouf has enough problems to solve in and around Senegal. But no hint of a solution to those points of disagreement, which threaten to jeopardize the very existence of Senegal as such, is to be seen on the horizon. But isn't there a saying to the effect that he who can do a lot can also do a little? Blasted Senegal!

* 'Dubious Policy'

91AF0036B Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
7-14 Sep 90 p 3

[Editorial by Tidiane Kasse: "The 'Gorguis' With the 'Boys'"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Lebanon, Chad, and Shaba are evidence that the government's decision to participate in operation "Desert Shield" does not mark the first time that Senegalese soldiers have been sent into foreign theaters of conflict. But we have probably never gotten involved in a mess like this before.

Of the 150 Senegalese known to be in Kuwait and Iraq, six have managed to escape and reach Jordan. According to information we have from the Gulf, they are Oumar Diop, his wife, and Libasse Laye Thiaw (from Yoff Diamalaye) and three students named Abdou Ndao (from Kaolack),

Mamadou Lamine Thiane, and Aliou Badiane (a native of Casamance). For all the Senegalese still there, the situation remains critical in view of the way the conflict is developing in the Gulf and the role that foreign nationals in the area are being called upon to play.

Of the 150 Senegalese, 110 (including the six who managed to escape to Amman, Jordan) were living in Kuwait. Those still there include 30 men, 50 children, and 10 young men (bachelors). Diplomatic personnel (11 individuals) and their families (a total of 60 people) constitute the largest group. This does not include the Senegalese military in Iraq as part of the UN forces in charge of ensuring peace with Iran. Their tour of duty should be over at the end of the month.

The situation of the Senegalese was probably less insecure than that of the Western hostages at the beginning, but it may appear in a different light following President Abdou Diouf's decision to send a Senegalese military contingent to the Gulf. That decision, announced last Tuesday by the Council of Ministers, fits in perfectly with the support given to the Saudi and Kuwaiti Governments, but it introduces a highly questionable logic.

No one knows how many men will be involved or when they will leave for the Gulf. But symbolic although that force may be, its participation in operation "Desert Shield" immediately presents us with a "a set of accounts" (political, diplomatic, and military) complete with profit and loss columns.

Senegal is the only country in black Africa to have involved itself in the conflict in this way, and its move is in response to Mauritania's alignment with the Iraqi positions. But there is reason to wonder about that overt will to defy the Baghdad regime, which is known to be behind Mauritania's warmongering. If Saddam Husayn hits back, we can always hope to benefit from the Western umbrella. But wouldn't it have been better to stay out of this game between blocs in which the extent of the stakes and forces involved is crushing us? Considering that no vital political or geostrategic interests are at stake and that no obligation to become involved in this way exists, what could have motivated the decision to go beyond a completely unambiguous diplomatic stand against Iraq?

Considering the many tasks facing our Armed Forces and considering other priorities (see the editorial below), the decision to send Senegalese soldiers to the Gulf was a questionable political decision, whether it resulted from a Saudi request or self-interested zeal on Senegal's part. In any case, regardless of how symbolic and minimal it may be—as some people expect it to be—the presence of our Armed Forces carries an emotional charge. A single Senegalese soldier in the Gulf will be equated with a military move because in the logic behind this situation, nothing is relative.

It may be that our men will improve their experience alongside the most efficient armed forces in the world. This desert war may also provide useful pointers in case

there is open conflict with Mauritania, whose geography is the same. Those Senegalese, who have a historic mission to accomplish in any case, are going to face things beyond even the comprehension of U.S. strategists: fine desert sand jamming their M-60 machineguns, air conditioning systems unable to protect the computers essential for conducting modern warfare, and, because of the heat, frequent radar failure, melting cables, and sighting systems in aircraft and helicopters that break down. By getting involved, Abdou Diouf is trying to enter into the game of alliances that is upsetting the traditional lines of force in the Arab world, strengthen himself in response to the Nouakchott-Baghdad alliance, and reestablish, with the countries in the Gulf, positions which have deteriorated seriously because of Senegal's conflict with Mauritania.

That resolute alignment is also taking place on the side of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, our main financial backers in connection with preparations for the future summit meeting of the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference]. Although the divisions splitting the Arab world make it uncertain whether that meeting by the Ummah will actually be held, it is not impossible that there will be economic fallout from our presence in the Gulf. The Saudi and Kuwaiti princes will be generous. After all, can they let themselves be outdone by George Bush? The U.S. President has just asked Congress to forgive Egypt's military debt (\$6.8 billion) because of its role in the region and, probably, because of the 3,000 men it has added to "Desert Shield."

* Domestic Needs 'Priority'

91AF0036C *Dakar WAL FADJRI in French*
7-14 Sep 90 p 3

[Editorial by Abdou Sow: "Contingencies"]

[Text] Next to the headquarters of the Socialist Party—the government party—stands the Saddam Husayn Cultural Center with its unfinished buildings designed in the Arab neoclassical style so dear to the Iraqi dictator's heart. It follows the same architectural doctrine as that that inspired the rebuilding of the city of Fao after its devastation in the war with Iran. At the time, Senegal was giving its unreserved support to Baghdad, which was engaged in a conflict that the Western press had presented to and imposed on world opinion as being a phase of the eternal battle between good and evil—between progress and civilization on the one side and obscurantism and Islamic fundamentalism on the other.

The Senegalese Government's bias during that conflict was so strong that even the Iraqi military setbacks were passed over in silence in the state-owned media, while Baghdad's victories, on the other hand, were trumpeted with an incomprehensible triumphalism. It was in that effusive atmosphere that a magnanimous Saddam Husayn financed the construction in Dakar of an Iraqi cultural center that, quite naturally, was going to bear his name while symbolizing Senegalese-Iraqi friendship.

Today that friendship is fraying before it even materializes, just as the Saddam Husayn Cultural Center is falling into ruins before it is even completed. Obviously, the financing that made it possible to begin construction of the edifice had to be canvassed for, solicited, encouraged, and followed-up on by men who had an interest in the project, because contrary to general opinion, diplomacy is not exclusively a matter of relations between states. Those relations themselves are often created and maintained for personal reasons by individuals who use states as a front and pull the strings from behind the scenes. Let us not get into that. Let us remember, however, that no one ever found any reason to criticize Saddam Husayn as long as he was massacring Kurds with chemical weapons or persecuting religious groups suspected of being friendly to Iran. Thanks to the amnesic virtues of the Western press—which presented the dictator in the flattering light of a bulwark of the free world against the advancing Islamo-Persian tide—no one wanted to remember that Iraq was the aggressor in the conflict between it and Tehran.

Now that Baghdad has invaded Kuwait, their memory has suddenly returned, and the Western media are remembering—"Oh, gee! What were we thinking of?"—that it was Iraq that started the hostilities by sending its armor against Iran. The dictatorship of the Western press is so strong that it is making us more idiotic every day. Under the barrage of virtuous recriminations by French newspapers and politicians, for example, one finds it hard to believe that between 1970 and 1989, Paris sold 8 trillion CFA [African Financial Community] francs worth of weapons to Iraq. Moscow tripled that figure in its military dealings with Saddam Husayn. That is how a power-hungry psychopath who is just a tinpot dictator is turned into a dangerous madman capable of destroying the lives of millions of individuals.

Countries such as the USSR, France, Great Britain, the United States, China, Czechoslovakia, Brazil, and so on—great arms merchants before the Lord—are actually dealers just as harmful as the hoodlums selling drugs in the street. The merchandise they sell goes to the head of every petty tyrant, who realizes that he can have extraordinary firepower if he is willing to spend the money. That manifest state of mind on the part of Saddam Husayn has been flattered and made to bear fruit by the same countries that are now going to great lengths in a big and carefully staged media circus to persuade the last gullible fools on the planet that Iraq is going to atone for its crime before the international community. It is all an act. With its foreign debt totaling 80 billion [currency unit not given], Iraq is much more useful to its creditors with its economy intact and able to pay off that debt than it would be if it were destroyed by thousands of tons of bombs.

The subtle fool's game that is going on in the Persian Gulf is still not understood by some governments—including our own—and in a sublime burst of generosity, they are flying to the help of Iraq's victims. It is a noble and ridiculous replay of Don Quixote. If Senegal wants to play at being the righter

of all wrongs and defender of the oppressed, such a sentiment is surely completely to its honor, especially in view of the relations our government has with an annexed Kuwait and a Saudi Arabia threatened by Saddam Husayn. But one does not blithely send even symbolic contingents to far-off theaters of operations when one's armed forces consist of only 15,000 men (including gendarmes) and are, according to what their top commander told the international press recently, poorly equipped to boot. Not when those Armed Forces must confront situations that they do not have enough men to deal with: the intensification of separatist guerrilla warfare in the south; surveillance of our sea and land frontiers with Guinea-Bissau following the murderous confrontations between the Armed Forces of the two countries; the vigilance required around Gambia, which is suspected of helping or sheltering the separatists; and a strong presence along the northern border to prevent any surprises from a Mauritania that is very aggressive and armed, officered, and manipulated by Iraq.

All of that is a bit much for a military force of 15,000 men without sophisticated equipment. In fact, such a situation does not make it reasonably possible to send soldiers to the Gulf to take part in the big free-for-all being encouraged by the big powers, which are Iraq's objective accomplices in its adventurism.

If Senegal's armed forces are still able, despite the many urgent demands being placed on them, to take part in foreign operations—which is improbable—priority ought to go to reinforcement of the forces sent to Liberia by ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]. The reason is that the slaughter in Liberia is real and intolerable. Stopping that massacre is a duty for all Africans and constitutes a mission whose objective is much clearer than the contingencies in the Gulf.

* Conference Plans Unchanged

91AF0036D Dakar SUD HEBDO in French
23 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by A. Ndiaga Sylla; first paragraph is SUD HEBDO introduction]

[Text] The summit meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference [OIC] that is scheduled to take place in Dakar in January 1991 will be held on that date. It will not be canceled or postponed. Kuwait's ambassador to Senegal, Suleiman Ibrahim al-Murijan, is definite on that point.

The situation that has prevailed in the Gulf since 2 August—the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq—will have no major effect on the financing of the Islamic conference. Most of that financing is provided by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. At most, there will be a few adjustments with respect to plans for repairing the road leading from the Yoff air terminal to the site of the OIC

meeting, the runway at the airport, and the water supply system, which were to be financed from the Kuwaiti Fund. Kuwait has already spent \$18 million on preparations for the meeting in Dakar.

Naturally, the ideal thing would be for peace to return to that part of the world before the start of next year so as to ensure the Islamic summit meeting of the best conditions for success from the standpoint both of participation and of the atmosphere that must prevail at that meeting.

At the moment, Iraq, which holds the key to the solution of the problem, is not in the best frame of mind for normalizing the situation. The various resolutions by the UN Security Council (661, 662, and 663) relative to the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the economic embargo on the Iraqi aggressor, and the decision to declare Iraq's annexation of Kuwait null and void are not going to change anything.

The result is that prospects for a solution are growing dimmer at the same time that resistance is being organized both inside and outside the emirate. "Uprisings against the Iraqi occupier are spreading throughout Kuwait," Ambassador Suleiman al-Murjan [variation in spelling of name as published] emphasizes, "and the Kuwaiti Armed Forces are being reconstituted in order to engage in operations against Iraqi troops from abroad. We have no doubt that the situation facing the international community will normalize. In the face of such a flagrant violation of international law, peace cannot be considered without the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the return of the country's legitimate authorities supported by a people standing united, regardless of political leanings. The Kuwaitis will never accept an Iraqi government on their soil."

What about a military solution? The ambassador answers: "Every means will be used to drive Saddam Husayn's Armed Forces out of Kuwait. He is trying to mislead international opinion by talking about foreign intervention in the Gulf, because everything started with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait." There will be mobilization on all fronts and intense diplomatic activity to ensure that right triumphs. Kuwaiti authorities are doing everything they can to isolate Iraq, which they supported during the war with Iran, and counting their friends, of which Mauritania is certainly not one.

As is known, Nouakchott has refused to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait so as not to offend its sponsor and fighting arm. This at the risk of alienating Kuwait, which represents its interests in Senegal. Will it continue to do so? We note that in Senegal, the political class seems to have passed the word around to remain silent. In the opposition, only the PLP [People's Liberation Party] has spoken out to condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in a press release issued on 17 August.

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